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VEDIC MATHEMATICS : A NOVEL ANCIENT TOOL FOR MODERN SCIENCE*

By

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Mathematics was, in Ancient India, considered to be an auxiliary of a branch of *aparā vidyā* (lower knowledge) which was an essential complement of the *parā vidyā* (higher knowledge); the former supposed to be helpful to one's worldly well-being and success in life, while the latter led one to the spiritual progress and the ultimate human goal of self-realisation. Both these *vidyās* jointly comprised the Vedic lore and enabled man to evolve himself to the attainment of divine perfection. The divine insight or super-conscious intuition enabled the ancient Indian Seers to penetrate the hitherto unfathomed levels of higher truths hidden behind the ordinary facts of human life. In ancient Greece, Plato had come in contact with some such seers, when he realised that God behaves always as a geometrician. He was right, since, as Tyndare elaborated, the geometry is a higher science because it takes away the soul from material things and leads to contemplation of Ideas, of intelligible and eternal realities. Modern

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sciences like astronomy, neuclear physics, molecular chemistry and others would testify to the fact that the micro-structures are astonishingly geometrical and mathematically computable.

Historians of Hindu Mathematics have traced back the sources of Indian Mathematics to the dim prehistoric times of the Vedas. Most of the great discoveries and inventions of which Europe is so proud would have been impossible without a developed system of mathematics, and this in turn would have been impossible if Europe had been shackled by the unwieldy system of Roman numerals.[1] Both the East and West agree on the discipline of mathematics as a value prerequisite to science, philosophy and mysticism. The *Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa* has been reckoned as the crown of the auxiliary sciences of the Vedas.[2] Even Alberuni[3] had noticed that the Hindus extend the names of the ten-power *orders* of numbers until the 18th order. Both Mahāvīra[4] (850 A.D.) and Bhāskara II[5] (1150 A.D.) have given 24 and 19 terms for decimal values upto 10^{23} and 10^{17} powers respectively. Vedic references to fractions, decimal system and geometry have been noticed by scholars like D. D. Mehta,[6] R. P. Kulkarni,[7] Bibhutibhusan Dutta and Avdhesh Narayan Singh,[8] D. M. Bose, S. N. Sen and B. V. Subbarayappa.[9]

But, by far the most revolutionary discovery in Vedic Mathematics, though never taken note of even in passing by any of the veteran orientalists nor by any of the historians of Hindu Mathematics so far, was the one by the late Jagadguru Swami Sri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji Maharaj (1884-1960) who presided over the supreme religious seat of authority in Eastern India as the Shankaracharya of the Govardhan Math at Puri (1925-1960). He discovered twenty-nine *Sūtra*s, of which sixteen were the main rules and thirteen were corrolaries to them. Swamiji gave talks and mathematical demonstrations on television in America between February and May in 1958.

The aphorisms (*Sūtra*s) do not belong to any of the published texts of the extant recensions of the currently available Saṁhitās of the Vedas; they are rather reconstructed, on the basis of intuitive revelation, from the materials scattered in the *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa* and other texts. Swamiji used to say that he had written sixteen volumes (one for each *Sūtra*) and that the manuscripts of the said volumes were deposited at the house of one of his disciples, but unfortunately, they were lost irretrievably from the place of their deposit and this collosal loss was finally confirmed in 1956. In 1957, Swamiji rewrote from memory one volume within one month and a half, but his failing health and cataract in both the eyes did not allow to fulfil his plans of rewriting the rest of the volumes. The one volume retrieved thus was first published in 1965 by the Banaras Hindu University in the Nepal Endowment Hindu Vishvavidyalaya Sanskrit Granthamala, and later on it is being reprinted in 1970, 1971, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1982 and so on by Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi. In Gujarat, the Maharshi Academy of Vedic Sciences[10] has taken up the mission of actually teaching the Vedic Mathematics to students of any age-group and at least a couple of hundred men and women of various age-groups, professions, social standing and educational faculties have learned this subject and mastered a few of its operations for themselves at the weekly classes held at Sri Sahajanand Arts and Commerce College, Ahmedabad, (Gujarat, India—380 015), during September and November, 1985, while more than five thousand people have witnessed the demostration of the operation of some of these *Sūtras* at the famous Swaminarayan Nagar, organised in Ahmedabad for Guṇātīta Bi-Centinary Celebration, during November and December, 1985. Similar mission of propagating this rare discovery of the late Jagadguru has been undertaken by two workers of Vivekanamda Centre in Pune, Maharashstra (India). Both these bodies have prepared their own versions for teaching the Vedic Mathematics through Gujarati[11] and Marathi[12] medium, respectively.

The *Sūtras* apply to and cover each and every part of each and every chapter of each and every branch of mathematics, including Arithmatic, algebra, both plane and solid geometry, both plane and spherical trigonometry, both geometrical and analytical conics, astronomy, both differential and integral calculus, etc. In fact, there is no part of mathematics, pure or applied, which is beyond their jurisdiction.

The *Sūtras* are easy to understand, easy to apply and easy to remember; and the whole work can be truthfully summarised in one word as "*mental*" : Consequently the time taken in solving a good number of complex problems of mathematical operation by the Vedic method will be a third, a fourth, a tenth or even a much smaller fraction of the time required according to the current Western method. And, in some very important and striking cases, sums requiring 30, 50, 100 or even more numbers and cumbersome "steps" of working according to the current Western method, can be answered in a single and simple step of work by the Vedic method.

Great modern mathematicians and historians of mathematics like Professor G. P. Halstead, Professor Ginsburg, Professor De Moregan, Professor Hutton and others, who have been truth-seekers, have evinced truly scientific attitude and frankly expressed their intense and whole-hearted appreciation of ancient India's grand and glorious contribution to the progress of mathematical knowledge in Western hemisphere and elsewhere. And, now, in tune with this same scientific attitude, and as an essential step towards propagating this rare but highly valuable bequest and extending it to the mankind on a widest possible scale and thus to enliven and rejuvenate it, the Maharshi Academy of Vedic Sciences, Ahmedabad (India) has here proposed to draw the attention of the scientists the world over to this entirely explosive scientific discovery of Vedic

Mathematics by Swamiji, who wanted to teach these Vedic *Sūtra*s to the world at large, so that science and mankind would reap the benefit of this wonderful Vedic lore—ancient intuitive knowlegde.

The *Sūtra*s are very short and simple. For instance : (1) *Ekādhikena pūrveṇa*; (2) *Nikhilaṁ navataś caramaṁ daśataḥ*; (3) *Ūrdhva-tiryagbhyām*; (4) *Parāvartya yojayet*; (5) *Śūnyaṁ sāmya-samuccaye*; (6) *Lopana-sthāpanābhyām*; (7) *Saṅkalanavyavakalanābhyām*, etc. They solve the problems of big multiplication, division, argumental division, factorisation of quadratics and cubics, highest common factor, merger type equations and complex mergers, simultaneous equations, simultaneous quadratic equations, factorisation and differential calculus, partial fractions, integration by partial fractions, recurring decimals, straight division, auxiliary fraction, divisibility and simple as well as complex osculators, straight squaring and cubing, square-root and cube-root, Pythagoras' and Appolonius' theorems and analytical conics. The *Sūtra* " *Nikhilaṁ navataś caramaṁ daśataḥ* " means " *all from nine and the last from ten* ". It applies to the problems of both the multiplication and division. It is based on the simple facts of the decimal system and arithmetical complements which are known in scientific circles as *radix-minus-one complement* and *radix complement*, and which are known in the familiar decimal system as the *nines complements* and the *tens complements*, respectively.[13] The first half of the ' *Nikhilaṁ Sūtra* ' refers to the radix-minus-one complement while the latter half refers to the radix complement.

To apply this *Sūtra* in solving the problems of multiplications, one has to bear in mind the nearest power of ten, note the difference between the relevant ten-power and the given set of the multiplicand and the multiplier, subtract or add or subtract and add crosswise the ten-power complements of the multiplicand and the multiplier from or to or from and to each other. This gives the left-half or left-hand-side (L.H.S.) part of the product! Here, the *Sūtra* " *Ūrdhva-tiryagbhyām* " has lent a helping hand in cross-wise operation. Now, it further enables us, by vertical multiplication of the ten-power complements of the multiplicand and the multiplier, to obtain the right-half or right-hand-side (R.H.S.) part of the product ! For instance, in 99 × 97, we put it as 99 - 1 and 97 - 3 one upon another, decimal-place-wise of course, wherein 99 and 97 are the multiplicand and the multiplier, respectively, while the -1 and -3 are their complements of the nearest power of ten, viz., 100. Since the given multiplicand and the multiplier are less than the relevant ten-power, we shall have to subtract cross-wise the complements as 99-3 or 97-1, which provides us with 96/ which is the L.H.S. of the product. And the vertical multiplication of the complements -1 × -3 gives us /3 as the R.H.S. of the product. Since the product of the single first digits gives more-than-one-digit product, we have the premonition that the product of 99 × 97 must necessarily be a four-digit one, rather than the usual total-minus-one digits. We, therefore, prefix one zero to our R.H.S./3, making it /03. Finally we combine the L.H.S. and the R H.S., as 9603 which is the final product :

Similarly, in 697 × 997, we put it as $\left.\begin{matrix}697-303\\997-003\end{matrix}\right\} = 694/909;$

in 888 × 991 we put it as $\left.\begin{matrix}888-112\\991-009\end{matrix}\right\} = 879/1008 = 880\ 008.$

Further instances are : $9997 \times 8777 = \left.\begin{matrix}9997-0003\\8777-1233\end{matrix}\right\} = 8774/3699.$

$99998 \times 98799 = \left.\begin{matrix}99998-00002\\98799-01201\end{matrix}\right\} = 98797/02402;$

$7667868677 \times 9999999997 = \left.\begin{matrix}7667868677-2332131323\\9999999997-0000000003\end{matrix}\right\} = 7667868674/6996393969.$

This very same *Sūtra* can solve the problems of division, too. This involves the complements of the given divisor, and its addition to the first dividend mechanically yields both the quotient as well as the remainder. For instance, in the case of 12345–8888, we have the comlement of it, viz., 1112 by the '*Nikhilam Sūtra*'. We mark off from the right-hand end as many digits of the dividend as there are in the divisor, as 1/2345. Now, leaving off the left-hand side digit beyond the oblique line, we multiply the complement figure by that left off digit, viz., 1 × 1112 = 1112 to the dividend, as $\left.\begin{matrix}1/2345\\1112\end{matrix}\right\} = 1/3457$; here the figure on the left of the oblique line is the quotient and the one to its right is the remainder: Similarly, in 1010101–879997 and 1030007-88987

$$\begin{array}{rl} \underline{879997}\,\Big) & 1/010101 \\ 120003\,\Big) & \underline{/120003} \\ & 1/130104 \\ & \text{Q} \quad \text{R} \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{rr} \underline{88987}\,\Big) & 10/30007 \\ 11013\,\Big) & 1/1013 \\ & \underline{11013} \\ \text{Q} & 11/51150\ \text{R} \end{array}$$

The *Sūtra* "*Ūrdhva-tiryagbhyām*", meaning "*vertically and cross-wise*", too, is helpful in both multiplication and division. In the multiplication by '*Nikhilam Sūtra*', we saw that this *Sūtra* co-operates with it by providing for the '*Ūrdhva*' (vertical) multiplication, and '*Tiryak*' (cross-wise) subtraction, etc. However, this *Sūtra* works independently too for multiplication. Process consists of alternative operation of vertical and cross-wise multiplication and addition of the successive digits of both mutliplicand and the multiplier.

For instance, 582 × 231. Here the process would be $\left.\begin{matrix}582\\231\end{matrix}\right\} = 5 \times 2 = 10; (5 \times 3) - (8 \times 2) = 15 + 16 = 31$, to be put cross-wise as $3^1/$. Then ($5 \times 1) - (8 \times 3) - (2 \times 2) = 5 + 24 + 4 = 33$, to be put cross-wise as $3^3/$. Next, $(8 \times 1) - (3 \times 2) = 8 + 6 = 14$, to be put cross-wise as $1^4/$. Lastly, $2 \times 1 = 2$. Addition of the two rows yields the product 134442.

$$\begin{array}{r} 582 \\ \underline{231} \\ 101342 \\ \underline{331} \\ 134442 \end{array}$$

For squaring a given number, we have the *Sūtra* " *Yāvad ūnaṁ tāvad ūnīkṛtya vargaṁ ca yojayet* " which means " *whatever the extent of its deficiency lessen it still further to that very extent; and also set up the square (of that deficiency)* ". Here, we take as our base the nearer ten-power and lessen (or add) the radix base complement which yields the lef-thand part of the product, while the squaring of the base complement yields the right-hand part of the product; and both joined together make the final answer. For instance, $92^2 = 84/64$; $94^2 = 88/36$; $989^2 - 978/121$; $9984^2 - 9968/0256$ Thus, we need not seek the help of logarithm tables in any form like montissa, Napierian or natural.

If the figure to be squared ends in 5, the *Sūtra* " *Ekādhikena pūrveṇa* ", meaning " *by one more than the previous one* ", comes to our help. Here, we increase the previous digit by one and multiply it with this added figure, which yields the left-hand part of the product, while the squaring of the last digit yields the right-hand part of the product; and both these parts joint together yield the final answer. Thus, for instance, $45^2 = (4 \times 5) / 5^2 = 20/25$. $75^2 = (7 \times 8) / 5^2 = 56 / 25$. $155^2 = (15 \times 16) / 5^2 = 240/25$. $185^2 = (18 \times 19) / 5^2 = 342/25$.

The *Sūtra* " *Parāvartya yojayet* ", meaning " *Transpose and apply* " helps us in the problems of division; naturally it enjoins invariable change of sign without change of side. For instance, suppose we want to divide $(12x^2 - 8x - 32)$ by $(x - 2)$. We put $(x - 2)$, the divisor, down on the left-hand side and put down -2 with sign changed, just below it. Then, we multiply (12×2), put the product (24) below the next term, add them and obtain the product 16. Finally, we multiply it further by 2, obtain 32, add it to the third term, which yields the total as 0.

$$\begin{array}{rr} \underline{x-2)} & 12x^2 - 8x - 32 \\ 2 & \underline{\quad 24 + 32} \\ & Q \quad 12x - 16 / 0 \quad R \end{array}$$

Here, we finally get $12x - 16$ as the Quotient and 0 as Remainder.

The *Sūtras* " *Ānurūpyeṇa* ", meaning " proportionately " and " *Ādyam ādyena antyam antyena* " meaning " the first by the first and the last by the last " help us for factorisation, by enabling us to split the middle co-efficient into two such parts so that the ratio of the first co-efficient to that first part is the same as the ratio of the second part to that of the last co-efficient. Thus for instance, in the quadratic $2x^2 + 5x + 2$, the middle term (5) is split into two such parts (4 and 1) that the ratio of first co-efficient to the first part of the middle co-efficient (i.e. 2 : 4) and the ratio of the second part of the last co-efficient (i.e. 1 : 2) are the same. Now, this ratio (i.e. $x + 2$) is one factor. And the second factor is obtained by dividing the first co-efficient of the quadratic by the first co-efficient of the factor already obtained and the last co-efficient of the quadratic by the last co-efficient of that factor. Thus, $\frac{2x^2 + 2}{x + 2} = x + 1$.

$\therefore 2x^2 + 5x + 2 = (x + 2)(2x + 1)$ by doing this process mentally.

For factorisation of cubics, biquadratics, etc., the *Sūtra* " *Guṇita-samuccayaḥ samuccaya-guṇitaḥ* ", meaning " *the product of the sum of co-efficients in the factors is equal to the sum of the co-efficient in the product* ", is of immense utility. In symbols, this principle means—

Sc of the product = Product of the *Sc* (in the factors). Here *S* stands for Sum and *C* for co-efficient. Thus, $(x + 7) (x + 9) = x^2 + 16x + 63$, where $(1 + 7) (1 + 9) = 1 + 16 + 63 = 80$.

In the case of harder quadratics, the *Sūtra* " *Lopanasthāpanābhyām* ", meaning " by (alternate) elimination and retention ", along with the ' *Ādyam Sūtra* ' just explained helps us tackle the problem very easily. For instance, suppose we want to factorise the long quadratic $2x^2 + 6y^2 + 3z^2 + 7xy + 11yz + 7zx$. We first eliminate z (by putting $z = 0$), retain only x and y and factorise the resulting ordinary quadratic (in x and y) with the ' *Ādyam Sūtra* '. We then similarly eliminate y and retain only x and z and factorise the simple quadratic (in x and z). And finally, we fill in the gaps caused by our own deliberate elimination of z and y, respectively. Thus, if $y = 0$, then $E = 2x^2 + 7zx + 3z^2 = (x + 3z) (2x + z)$; similarly, if $z = 0$, then, $E = 2x^2 + 7xy + 6y^2 - (x + 2y) (2x + 3y)$. $\therefore E = (x + 2y + 3z) (2x + 3y + z)$.

For factorisation of cubics like $x^3 + 12x^2 + 44x + 48$, these *Sūtras* show us that the $Sc = 105$, whose factors are 1, 3, 5, 7, 15, 21, 35 and 105. The last term is 48 whose factors are 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 24 and 48. $\therefore$ $x - 1$ and $x + 1$ are out of court. The only possible factors are $(x - 2) (x - 4) (x - 6)$.

In the case of finding out the Highest Common Factor, the ' *Lopana-sthāpana Sūtra* ', the ' *Ādyam Sūtra* ' and the ' *Saṅkalana-vyavakalana Sūtra* ' make the operation very easy. For instance, suppose we want to find out the H.C.M. of $(x^2 + 7x + 6)$ and $(x^2 - 5x - 6)$. We first effect the addition and then subtraction, thus—

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} x^2 + 7x + 6 \\ \underline{x^2 - 5x - 6} \end{array}\right\} \text{Addition} \qquad \left.\begin{array}{c} x^2 + 7x + 6 \\ \underline{-(x^2 - 5x - 6)} \\ + \quad + \end{array}\right\} \text{Subtraction}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} 2x \,)\, 2x^2 + 2x \\ \hline x + 1 \end{array} \qquad\qquad \begin{array}{c} 12 \,)\, 12x + 12 \\ \hline x + 1 \end{array}$$

$\therefore$ $x + 1$ is the H.C.M.

The *Sūtra* " *Śūnyaṁ sāmya-samuccaye* ", meaning when the *Samuccaya* is the same, that *Samuccaya* is zero ", i.e. it should be equated to zero, is useful in solving simple and quadratic equations. Here the term ' *Samuccaya* ' has several meanings with different contexts. Its meanings are as follows :

(1) A term which occurs as a common factor in all the terms concerned, as e.g. x in $12x + 3x = 4x + 5x$. $\therefore 12x + 3x - 4x - 5x = 0$. $\therefore 6x = 0$. $\therefore x = 0$.

(2) The product of the independent terms, as e.g. $(x + 7) (x + 9) = (x +$

3) (x + 21). .. Here 9 × 7 = 3 × 21 ∴ x - 0. (3) The sum of Denominators of two factors having the same (numerical) Numerator, as e.g.

$$\frac{1}{2x-1} + \frac{1}{3x-1} = 0. \quad \therefore \; 5x - 2 = 0.$$

(4) Sum of the Numerators and the sum of the denominators, as e.g. in $\frac{2x+9}{2x+7} - \frac{2x+7}{2x+9}$, where $N_1 + N_2 = 4x + 16$ and $D_1 + D_2 = 4x + 16$. ∴ $4x + 16 = 0$. ∴ $x = -4$. (5) The sum as well as the difference of $N_1 + N_2$ and $D_1 + D_2$ as e.g. in $\frac{3x+4}{6x+7} = \frac{5x+6}{2x+3}$ where $N_1 + N_2 = 8x + 10$ and $D_1 - D_2 = 8x + 10$. ∴ $x = -\frac{5}{4}$. But the x^2 co-efficients on L.H.S. and the R.H.S. are 6 and 30, respectively, and not the same. So it is the quadratic equation, not a simple one. We, therefore, observe $N_1 \sim D_1 = 3x + 3$ and $N_2 \sim D_2 = 3x + 3$. ∴ $3x + 3 = 0$ ∴ $x = -1$. Thus the two roots are -5/4 and -1. (6) The sum total of the Denominators on the L.H.S. and the total on the R.H.S., as e.g. in $\frac{1}{x-7} + \frac{1}{x-9} = \frac{1}{x-6} + \frac{1}{x-10}$ where $D_1 + D_2 = D_3 + D_4 = 2x - 16$ .. $x = 8$.

In the case of simple and quadratic equations with thin, medium or thicker disguises, the '*Parāvartya Sūtra*' shows us the way out by transposition process, as in the following examples : (1) $\frac{1}{x-8} - \frac{1}{x-9} = \frac{1}{x-12} - \frac{1}{x-9}$ which would by tranposition become $\frac{1}{x-8} + \frac{1}{x-9} = \frac{1}{x-12} + \frac{1}{x-5}$ .. $x = 8\frac{1}{2}$. (2) $\frac{x-2}{x-3} + \frac{x-3}{x-4} = \frac{x-1}{x-2} + \frac{x-4}{x-5}$ would by transposition become $1 + \frac{1}{x-3} + 1 + \frac{1}{x-4} = 1 + \frac{1}{x-2} + 1 + \frac{1}{x-5}$. And, cancelling out the two ones from both sides, the equation would stand solved as $x = 3\frac{1}{2}$.

(3) $\frac{2}{2x+3} - \frac{3}{3x+2} = \frac{1}{x+1} - \frac{6}{6x+7}$ where by suitable multiplication of the numerator and the denominator in each term getting 6 uniformly as the co-efficients of x in all of them, we have —

$$\frac{6}{6x-9} + \frac{6}{6x-4} = \frac{6}{6x-6} + \frac{6}{6x-7} \;..\; 12x + 13 = 0 \;\therefore\; x = \frac{-13}{12}.$$

In the case of multiple simultaneous equations the '*Lopana-sthāpana Sūtra*', the '*Ānurūpya Sūtra*' and the '*Parāvartya Sūtra*' help us immediately. As for instance—

$x + y - z = 0$ (A) Here A + C gives us :
$4x - 5y + 2z = 0$ (B) $4x + 3y = 10$.
$3x - 2y + z = 10$ (C) and 2A + B gives us : $6x - 3y = 0$

$$\therefore 10x - 10 \quad .. \left.\begin{array}{r} x = 1 \\ y = 2 \\ \text{and} \quad z = 3 \end{array}\right\} \qquad \left.\begin{array}{l} \text{Then, from A, we have } x + y = 2 \\ \text{and from B, we have } 4x - 5y = -2z \end{array}\right\}$$

$\therefore$ by *Parāvartya*, $x = \frac{1}{3}x$; and $y = \frac{2}{3}z$.

$\therefore$ (by substitution in B, $z = 1\frac{1}{3}z + z = 10$ $\qquad \therefore z = 3$

$x = 1$

and $y = 2$.

For factorisation and differential calculus, the *Sūtra* " *Guṇaka-samuccaya* " and others dealing with successive differentiations, covering Leibnitz's theorem, Maclaurin's theorem, Taylor's theorem, etc., are easily worked out. The basic principle postulated in the *Sūtra*s is that, if and when a quadratic expression is the product of the binomial (x + a) and (x + b), its first differential is the sum of the said two factors and so on. The ' *Guṇaka-samuccaya Sūtra* ' denotes and connotes the same well-known rule of the differentiation of the product, i.e. if y-uv, when u and v be the functions of

$$x, \ \frac{dy}{dx} = v\frac{du}{dx.} + u\frac{dv}{dx}.$$ For instance—

$$x^4 - 19x^3 + 234x^2 + 284x + 240 = (x + 2)(x + 3)(x + 4)(x + 10)$$

$$..\ D_1 = 4x^3 + 57x^2 + 468x + 284 = \Sigma\, abc$$

$$..\ D_2 = 12x^2 + 114x + 468 = \underline{\overline{12}}\ \Sigma\, ab$$

$$..\ D_3 = 24x + 114 = 6(4x + 19) = \underline{13}\ \Sigma\, a.$$

Integration by Partial Fraction is done by the ' *Ekādhika Sūtra* '. Here, in order to find the integral of a power of x, we add to unity the *Pūrva* (i.e. the original index) and divide the co-efficient by the new index (i.e. the original one plus unity). For instance—

Suppose we want to integrate $\dfrac{7x - 1}{6x^2 - 5x + 1}$.

$\because$ (by *Parāvartya*), $\dfrac{7x - 1}{6x^2 - 5x - 1} = \dfrac{7x - 1}{(2x - 1)(3x - 1)} = \dfrac{5}{2x - 1} - \dfrac{4}{3x - 1}$

$$\therefore \frac{(7x - 1)\,dx}{6x^2 - 5x - 1} - 5\frac{dx}{2x - 1} - 4\frac{dx}{3x - 1}$$

$$\therefore \frac{5}{2}\ \frac{d(2x)}{2x - 1} - \frac{4}{3}\ \frac{d(3x)}{3x - 1}$$

$$\therefore \frac{5}{2}\log(2x - 1) - \frac{4}{3}\log(3x - 1)$$

$$\therefore \log\frac{(2x - 1)\,5/2}{(3x - 1)\,4/3}$$

The ' *Ekādhika Sūtra* ' works wonders in converting the vulgar fractions into recurring decimals. Three *Sūtra*s couched in the Vedic Numerical Code,[14] supply the keys for mental one-line answers to the problem of recurring decimals.

The sub-*Sūtra* " *Ekanyūnena pūrvena* ", meaning " with the previous one decreased by one " helps us to understand the operations of these three-coded *Sūtras*. Thus—

$$\frac{1}{7} - \frac{143/999}{999999} - \frac{142857}{999999} - \dot{1}4285\dot{7}\;;$$

$$\frac{1}{13} - \frac{077/999}{999999} \overset{*}{-} \underline{076923} - \cdot\dot{0}7692\dot{3}\;;\text{ and}$$

$$\frac{1}{17} - \frac{05882353/99999999}{9999999999999999} - \cdot\dot{0}5882352/9411764\dot{7}.$$

The ' *Ekādhika Sūtra* ' lays down that if you multiply with the ' *ekādhika* ' figure from the right to left, or divide with it from left to right, you get the required recurring decimals immediately within seconds. And you can determine before-hand, the last digit of the recurring decimal equivalent of a given vulgar fraction, too, since in $\frac{1}{17}$ in its decimal shape must necessarily end in 7 ; $\frac{1}{19}$ in 1 ; $\frac{1}{21}$ in 9; and $\frac{1}{23}$ in 3, and so on. For applying the ' *Ekādhika Sūtra* ' we should convert the vulgar fraction by multiplication, into such a one in which the denominator ends in 9. E. g., $\frac{1}{23}$ as $\frac{3}{69}$ yielding 7 as the *ekādhika* figure; and $\frac{1}{17} - \frac{7}{119}$ yielding 12 as *ekādhika* figure.

Let us now convert $\frac{1}{23}$ into its corresponding recurring decimal shape. Here the last digit is 3 since we have to multiply 3 by 3 to obtain 9. And the ' *ekādhika* ' figure is 7, as shown above. Now, we start the multiplication by means of 7, taking the starting digit as 3 from the right-hand end, and put down the successive unit digit of product as the answer from right to left, while adding the ten-power or hundred-power digits to the next product. Thus –

$$\frac{1}{23} = \frac{1}{69} = \begin{array}{l} \dot{9}\,4\,3\,4\,7\,8\,2\,6\,0\,8\,6\,/\,9\,5\,6\,5\,2\,1\,7\,3\,9\,1\,\dot{3}, \\ 3\,2\,3\,5\,5\,1\,4\,0\,6\,4\,6\,3\,/\,4\,3\,1\,1\,5\,2\,6\,0\,2 \end{array}$$

where the operation is : $3 \times 7 = 21$; $1 \times 7 = 7 + 2 = 9$; $9 \times 7 = 63$; $3 \times 7 = 21 + 6 = 27$, and so on, wherein the successive unit digits of the successive products, viz., 1, 9, 3, 7, etc., are put down as the decimal equivalent digits in the answer row, while the ten-power digits, viz., 2, 0, 3, 6, etc., are added to the next product, respectively.

The same result can be obtained by the process of division starting from the left to the right. Thus—

$$\frac{1}{23} = \begin{array}{l} .\dot{0}\,4\,3\,4\,7 \;\ldots\;\ldots\;\ldots, \\ 3\,2\,3\,5\,5 \end{array}$$

where the operation is : $1 - 7 =$ which yields 30, from which we put the unit digit zero in the answer row and the ten-power digit 3 before it slightly below the answer row; the next dividend is 30, which yields, by further division by 7, the quotient 4 to be put in the answer row and the remainder 2 in the lower row slight before it. 24 ÷ 7 = 3 (Q) and 3 (R) ; 33 ÷ 7 = 4 (Q) and 5 (R), etc., and so on. Here the remainder-digit serves as the ten-power value in the successively derived dividend.

Still further wonderful fact, based on the rule of Radix Minus Complements, is that while carrying on the operation of the multiplication or the division as we might choose, we arrive at a figure which comprises the difference between the denominator and the numeral (D ∼ N), half the work is done, and instead of carrying on the operation further, you can simply write down the remaining half of the answer by putting down the complements of nine with an eye to the x digits arrived so far. Thus, in the present case of 1/23, the D ∼ N stage is reached when we arrive at the eleventh digit of the answer while carrying on the multiplication, viz., 9 from the right (9 × 7 + 3 = 66 and 69 (D) – 3 (N) = 66) or when you arrive at the eleventh digit of the answer, viz., 6, while carrying on the division from the left (48 – 7 = 6 (Q) and 6 (R) yielding the next dividend 66 which is D N, i.e. 66. Thus— ·04347826086

$$\begin{array}{r} 95652173913 \\ \hline 99999999999 \end{array}$$

Similarly, the equivalent decimal values of vulgar fractions like 1/17, 1/19 etc., can be deduced mentally within a minute or so.

And in the case of 1/17, the relevant Vedic Numerical code *Sūtra*[15] contains the key to the answer. The *Sūtra* is : " *Kaṁsaiḥ kṣāmadāha-khalair-malaiḥ* ",[16] meaning " in the case of 17 our multiplicand should be 05882353, which operates thus : $\frac{1}{17} = \frac{05882353/99999999}{9999999999999999} = \cdot\dot{0}5882352/9411764\dot{7}$.

There are two other *Sūtras*, viz., " *Kevalaiḥ saptakaṁ guṇyāt* ", meaning " in the case of 7 our multiplicand should be 143 ", and " *Kalau kṣudrasasaiḥ* " meaning " in the case of 13 our multiplicand should be 077 ".

For Straight Division, the ' *Ūrdhva-tiryak Sūtra* ' is capable of immediate application to all cases, and it is, therefore, the Crowning Gem of all. For instance, let us try to work out $\frac{38982}{73}$. Here the *Sūtra* works as follows : Out of the divisor 73, we put down only the first unit digit (i.e., 3) on the top as the *Dhvajāṅka* (Flag digit). Now 38 ÷ 7 = 5 (Q) and 3 (R), out of which we put down the first Quotient-digit in the lowermost answer-column and the Remainder-digit in the middle column. The first two columns would cross-wise yield the successive Gross Dividends. Thus, our next GD is 39. From this we deduct the product of the

3:	38	9	8	:	2		:
7 :		3	3	:	1		:
:	5	3	4	:	0		

Flag-digit (3) and the first Q-digit (5), viz., 15 which yields the next Net Dividend (39-15 =) 24. Now 24 ÷ 7 = 3 (Q) and 3 (R) to be put down in their respective lowermost and middle columns. Next GD is 38. 3 × 3 = 9; 38-9 = ND 29; 29 ÷ 7 = 4 (Q) and 1 (R), to be put down in their respective columns. Next GD = 12. 3 × 4 = 12. 12 - 12 = 0 (Q) and 0 (R).

$$\therefore \frac{38982}{73} = 534\,(\,Q\,)\ ;\ 0\,(\,R\,).$$

The Vedic process of ' *Sahāyakas* ' (Auxiliary Fractions) considerably reduces the burden of subsequent operation for manipulating the decimal point. These ' *Sahāyakas* ' are obtained by the ' *Ekādhika Sūtra* '. Thus—

For $\frac{1}{19}$, the A.F. is $\frac{1}{2}$; for $\frac{1}{29}$ the A.F. is $\frac{1}{3}$; for $\frac{35}{59}$ the A.F. is $\frac{3{\cdot}5}{6}$; for $\frac{73}{89}$ the A.F. is $\frac{7{\cdot}3}{9}$; for $\frac{1}{119}$ the A.F. is $\frac{{\cdot}1}{12}$: and so on.

As regards the problems of divisibility, the Vedic process of ' *Veṣṭanas* ' or Osculators comes to our help in association with the ' *Ekādhika Sūtra* '. For instance, we may take the familiar case of number 7. We know that the ' *Ekādhika* ' of 7 is 5 (since 7 × 7 = 49, a 9-ending number; and 4 + 1 = 5). Now, suppose we have to determine 784 is divisible by 7. We mentally multiply the last digit 4 by ' *ekādhika* ' Osculator digit 5. ∴ 4 × 5 = 20 and add the product to the previous digit yielding 20 + 8 = 28 ; next 28 × 5 = 140 ; 140 + 7 = 147; ∴ Yes. Thus, we know that - (1) 7 continuously osculated by 5 gives 35, 28, 42, 14, 21 and 7. (2) 5 continuously osculated by 7 gives 35, 38, 59, 68, 62, 20, 2 and so on. (3) 9 so osculated by 7 gives 63, 27, 51, 12, 15, etc. (4) 8 so osculated by 16 gives 128, 140, 14, etc. The rule for the ' *Ekādhikas* ' is as follows : (1) For 9, 19, 29, 39, etc. (all ending in 9), the ' *Ekādhikas* ' are 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., respectively. (2) For 3, 13, 23, 33, etc. (all ending in 3), multiply them by 3; and we get 1, 4, 7, 10, etc. as ' *ekādhikas* ', respectively. (3) For 7, 17, 27, 37, etc. (all ending in 7), multiply them by 7; and we obtain 5, 12, 19, 26, etc,. as the ' *ekādhikas* '. (4) And the Osculator of any number by its ' *ekādhika* ' will, as in the case of 7 and 13, go on giving that very number or a multiple thereof. The ' *Veṣṭana* ' or Multiple Osculation answers the need for formulating a scheme of *groups of digits* which can be osculated, not as individual digits but in a lump. For instance, 75621 osculated by 5 (P and Q) for three-digit groups gives 75 + 3105 (= 3180) and 75 - 3105 (= -3030), respectively.

The procedure of ' *Dwandwa-yoga* ' (Duplex Combination Process) is useful for Straight Squaring. It is used in two senses : (1) by squaring, e.g., a^2; and (2) by cross-multiplication, e.g., 2ab. In the case of a single digit, the first sense of the square (a^2) is meant, while in the case of a number of even digits, double the cross-product (2ab) is meant. Thus, the Duplex (D) for 2 is $2^2 = 4$; for 7 it is $7^2 = 49$; for 34 it is $2(3 \times 4) = 2(12) = 24$; for 409 it is $2(4 \times 0 \times 9) = 2(36) = 72$; and so on. Here the ‘ *Ūrdhvatiryak*’ *Sūtra*’ provides the proof. For instance,—

$$207^2 = \left.\begin{matrix}4\ 0\ 8\ 0\ 9\\ 2\ \ 4\end{matrix}\right\} = 42849.$$ The proof is

$$\begin{array}{ll} & 207\\ & \underline{207}\\ (& 40809 \ \text{(by U.T.S.)}\\ (& \underline{204}\\ (& 42849\end{array}$$

Similarly, $$543^2 = \left.\begin{matrix}250649\\ 442\end{matrix}\right) = 294849.$$

The same procedure of ‘ *Dwandwa-yoga* ’ helps us to obtain the Square Root very easily. For this the given number is first arranged in two-digit groups from right to left, and a single digit, if any left over, at the left end is counted as a single group by itself. For instance, 119716 is to be arranged as 11 97 16, comprising three groups. Now, we are sure that the number of digits in the square root will be the same as the number of digit-groups in a given number itself. Thus, in the above case, the square root will have three digits. In the case of pure decimals, the number of digits in the square is always double that in the square-root. Then, we bear in mind the squares of the first nine natural numbers, viz., 1, 4, 9, 16. 25, 36, 49, 64, and 81, respectivety. This means that an exact square cannot end in 2, 3, 7 or 8; that a complete square ending in 1 must have either 1 or 9 (mutual complements of 10) as the last digit of the square root; that a square can end in 4 only if the square root ends in 2 or 8 (complements); that the ending of a square in 5 or 0 means that the square root too ends in 5 or 0, respectively; that a square ending in 6 must have 4 or 6 (complements) as the last digit in its square root; and that the square ending in 9 must necessarily have 3 or 7 (complements) as the last digit of the square root. Armed with these facts, we have the immediate premonition of the number of digits in the square root, and the first digit thereof. Thus, in the case of 119716, we know before-hand that the square root consists of three digits and that the first digit thereof is 3, since 11 is in excess to 9 (i.e., 3^2). Then, by the process of straight division, we proceed as follows—

$$\begin{array}{ll} (& 11 : 9\ 7\ 1\ 6\\ (\ 6 : & :2\ 5\ 5\ 3\\ \hline (& 3 : 4\ 6{\cdot}0\ \overline{0}\end{array}$$

Here our GD_1 is 11 and we put down the Q_1 (viz., 3) in the lowermost quotient column and R_1 (viz., 2) in the middle remainder column. Now, for further division, our divisor is 2 Q, i.e. $2 \times 3 = 6$. Now our next GD_2 is 29; $29 \div 6 = 4$ (Q_2) and 5 (R_2). Next $GD_3 = 57$; subtract the square of Q_2, i.e. $4^2 = 16$, yielding thereby the $ND_3 = 41$; $41 \div 6 = 6$ (Q_3) and 5 (R_3). Now, GD_4 is 51; from it we subtract the ‘ *Dwandwa-yoga* ’ $2 Q_2 Q_3$, i.e. $2 \times 4 \times 6 = 48$. $\therefore ND_4 = 51 - 48 = 3$, which if divided by 6 yields 0 (Q_4) and 3 (R_4), to be put down in their respective columns. Now, $GD_5 = 36$ from which we subtract the ‘ *Dwandwa-yoga* ’ of Q_3, i.e. 6^2. $\therefore ND_5 = 36 - 36 = 0$. . . By further division $Q_5 = 0$ and $R_5 = 0$. . . The Square Root is 346.

The problems pertaining to finding out the Cube Roots of given expressions, too, are solved by the same processes of '*Dwandwa-yoga*' and of '*Vilokanam*' (i.e. "observation"). Here, we have to first arrange the given expression in three-digit groups; as for instance, 84604519 will be rearranged as 84 604 519. In such a re-grouping a single or a double digit group, if any, would be counted as a group by itself. Then, we have to keep in mind the lowest cubes of the first nine natural numbers, viz., 1, 8, 27, 64, 125, 216, 343, 512 and 729, respectively. Here we observe that when the cube ends in 1, 4, 5, 6, 9 or 0, the cube root too ends in the same digit, and when the cube ends in 2, 3, 7 and 8, the cube root ends in 8, 7, 3 and 2 (which are the radix complements of the former digits.). Further the cube root will consist of as many digits as there are three-digit groups in the given expression. Thus, with the help of these preliminary facts, we can by mere '*Vilokanam*' get the premonition of the first digit as well as the number of digits in the cube-root. And, if the cube be a perfect one, we may know before-hand the last digit, too, of the cube root. Thus, for instance, in 271, 601, we have two groups which means the cube root will have two digits only. Since the first group has 271, which is more than 216 (i.e. 6^3) but less than 343 (i.e. 7^3), the first digit of the cube root is doubtlessly 6. And, since the last digit in the last group is 1, the cube root should end in 1. ∴ the C.R. is 61 :

In the case of cube-roots consisting of more than two digits, the *Sūtra* '*Vilokanam*' assisted by '*Dwandwa-yoga*' process of straight division comes to our rescue. Thus, suppose we want to find out the cube-root of 83, 453, 453.

	83 .	4	5	3	5	3
48 :		: 19	50			
:	4	: 3	7			

Here, we know before-hand that the first digit and the last digits of the cube root are 4 and 7, respectively, and that the cube root consists of three digits. Since our first C.R. digit is 4, therefore, by '*Vilokanam*' $83 - 64 = 19$ (R_1). ∴ $GD_2 - 194$. The divisor is $3(4^2)$, i.e. 48. $194 \div 48 = 3$ (Q_2) and 50 (R_2). Note that in order to leave sufficient room for the next GD, we take 3 as the Q_2 rather than 4, in which case our GD, will be too small to allow the operation further beyond the second digit of the CR, while we know before-hand that the CR definitely consists of three digits. So, our GD_3 is 505. Now, $3(4 \times 3^2) = 108$; ∴ $ND_3 = 505 - 108 = 397$. and $397 \div 48 = 7$ (Q_3) and 61 (R_3). We need not exert further since we have already three digits. ∴ C.R. = 437.

In Analytical Conics, the Vedic *at-sight*, one line, mental method of '*Parāvartya Sūtra*' enables us to write down the answer mechanically by a *mere casual look* at the given co-ordinates. For this, we put the difference of the y-co-ordinates as the x-co-efficients and vice versa, and we evaluate the independent term on that basis. For instance, suppose we want to find out the equation of the straight line passing through two points, whose co-ordinates are $(9, 17)$ and $(7, -2)$. So our x-co-efficient is $17 - (-2) = 19$; and our y-co-efficient is $9 - 7 = 2$. Thus, we have $19x - 2y$ as our L.H.S. straightway. As for the absolute term on the R.H S., as the straight line in question passes through the two given points, the substitution of the original co-ordinates of each of the points must give us the independent term. So, the substitution of the values of 9 and 7 in the L.H.S. of the equation gives us $(19 \times 9) - (2 \times 17) = 171 - 34 = 137$. Or, by substituting the values of 7 and -2 therein, we get $(19 \times 7) - (2 \times -2) = 133 + 4 = 137$; And that is additional confirmation and verification. Further, even '*Ādyam antyam madhyam*' *Sūtra* too helps. The *Sūtra* means "the product of the means *minus* the product of the extremes", i.e. $bc - ad$, can also serve us. So, we have $(17 \times 7) - (9 \times -2) = 119 + 18 = 137$! This is still further additional confirmation and verification ! !

In connection with the Hyperbola, the Conjunctive Hyperbola and the Asymptotes, the '*Ūrdhva-tiryak*', the '*Lopana-sthāpana*' and the '*Ādyam-ādya*' *Sūtras* come to our rescue. Suppose our equation of the Asymptotes is $3x^2 - 5xy - 2y^2 + 5x + 11y - 8 = 0$, as given by Prof. S. L. Loney in his "*Elements of Co-ordinate Geometry*". By the Vedic method, we first get mentally $3x + y$ and $x - 2y$ and then -4 and 3 as the only possibilities in the case; and as this gives us -12 in the product, we get this

$$\begin{array}{r} 3x + y - 4 \\ x + 2y + 3 \\ \hline 3x^2 - 5xy - 2y^2 + 5x + 11y - 12 \end{array}$$

product $= 0$ as the Equation to the Asymptotes; and as the Conjugate Hyperbola is at the same distance in the opposite directions from the Asymptotes, we put down the same equation (with only -16 instead of -8) as the required Equation to the Conjugate Hyperbola. And that is all. Here we have not got to bother about the complexities of the Discriminants, the inevitable substitution and all the rest of it !

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QUESTION IN PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

By

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The time of emergence of individuality, endowed with intelligence and inquisitive spirit, may be assumed to be the hypothetical time when the urge to question came into being. It is, therefore, logical that the event of the merger of that individuality into its source or its disintergration can be considered as co-eval with the disappearance of that urge. To question is, thus, natural and necessary function of a rational being in the process of his development and fulfilment. It is evident that the character of questions that normally occur to an intelligent being must vary, depending upon the state of growth and the circumstances in which he finds himself at a specific time and place. If it is admitted that a spontaneous and honest doubt and a question based on such a doubt contains more truth than most of the prevalent creeds and current theories, an equation can be proposed that to begin doubting and consequent questioning is to begin thinking and discovering truth. It is significant that the cognate words like man, human, mentation and *manu*, *mānava*, *manuṣya* and *manana* are etymologically derived from the Indo-European root "mën" to think and to speak. It will be seen in the light of this linguistic evidence that to think logically is the proper and legitimate function of the homo-sapiens. But contrary to the common belief, only some rare and gifted genius undertakes seriously the arduous process called thinking. Routine and habitual thinking involved in normal personal or social living cannot be properly described as thinking, since it does not follow the strict sequence of logical thought-process. In the light of this discussion, questions may be divided into two broad categories. One, questions relating to mundane life and the complexities implicated in improving the standard of life. Second, questions of supra-mundane of metaphysical nature which often appear as completely unrelated and irrelevant to the contemporary, rather, immediate context, but which in the long run, prove to be fundamental and capable of moulding the tenor of human life in the most decisive manner. For instance. a pragmatic and wise man of the world might have dismissed as futile sophistry the question which occured to Newton when an apple fell to the ground, as to why did it fall the way it did and not otherwise. And even a man of scientific temperament would have dismissed as unwarranted the question that occured to Ramaṇa Maharṣi as to who, in reality, he was. But it is, however,

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evident that it is this sort of questions that, by providing the necessary impetus, make the progress of human civilization and culture possible.

The aim of the present paper is to view and evaluate the urge of questioning in the philosophical perspective and to discuss its source, structure and effect in the larger process of philosophical thinking. It seems that apart from personal effort on the part of thinkers to address themselves to the task of discovering the deeper realities of existence, it was felt necessary to organise special sessions called *brahmodyas* or catechisms, particularly at the end of great sacrifices with a view to facilitating formal questioning and thus initiating and promoting a well-defined debate on problems relating to some important aspects of sacrificial lore, the nature and functions of deities, the esoteric import of the Vedic formulae and other allied topics including psychology, metempsychosis and metaphysics.

That such catechisms or special sessions for philosophical debates were formally organised at the end of sacrifices and were considered as their necessary concluding sessions from very ancient times in Inida, is proved by textual evidence, such as the hymn of the *Ṛgveda*, I. 164. This hymn is evidently of the nature of a catechism and is significantly juxtaposed to the two preceding hymns, I. 162, 163 which briefly describe the formal procedure of the *aśvamedha* or Horse-sacrifice. Keith states in this regard that it is a special feature of the Vedic sacrifice that at certain points are found *brahmodyas*, discussions about Brahman, the holy power in the universe. Such theosophical riddles are common at the Horse-sacrifice.[1] Agrawala, in respect of this hymn, observes that it illustrates the depth of the mental vision of *Ṛṣi* Dīrghatamas, obviously a pseudonym given to a thinker who grapples with long darkness or mystery of creation.[2] This hypothesis is further corroborated by the fact that the same sequence is adopted in so ancient a text as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. In its third chapter it states that at the end of a great sacrifice performed by the philosopher king Janaka of the Videhas, in which profuse gifts were made over to the participating *Brāhmaṇas* from the province of Kuru and Pāñcala, a *brahmodya* or a philosophical tournament was organised. In this tournment, Yājñavalkya faced scholars of different branches of knowledge like ritualism, theory of *karma*, destiny of soul after departure from this world, metempsychosis, the phenomenon of possession of mediums by spirits, ontology and metaphysics. Yājñavalkya is stated to have excelled as a great debator and philosopher. He enunciated his philosophical views which influenced the tenor of the later Indian philosophical thought.

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[1] Keith, A.B., *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣad*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 434, 35.

[2] Agrawala, V. S., *Vision in Long Darkness*, Pub. Agrawala V. S. Varanasi, 1963, P. 1.

The nature of questions that gave rise to speculative thought and provided impetus to efforts for gaining insight into the reality of existence, can be, to an extent, ascertained by the ancient text of the *Ṛgv da* itself. It will be seen in the course of discussion that the form and back-ground of the question eventually became more definitive.

The hymn referred to above poses fundamental problems, mostly together with their solutions. The following instances would serve as illustrations in this regard :—

को द॑दर्श प्रथ॒मं जाय॑मानमस्थ॒न्वन्तं॒ यद॑न॒स्था बिभ॑र्ति ।
भूम्या॒ असु॒रसृगा॒त्मा क्व॑ स्वि॒त्को वि॒द्वांस॒मुप॑गात्प्रष्टु॑मे॒तत ॥

" Who hath beheld him as he sprang to being, seen how the boneless one supports the bony ? Where is the blood of the earth, the life, the spirit ? Who may approach the man who knows, to ask it ".[3]

पाकः॑ पृच्छामि॒ मन॒साऽवि॑जानन्दे॒वाना॑मे॒ना निहि॑ता प॒दानि॑ ।

" Unripe in mind, in spirit of understanding, I ask of these the gods ' established places ".[4]

अचि॑कित्वाञ्चि॒कितु॑षश्चि॒दत्र॑ क॒वीन्पृ॑च्छामि वि॒द्मने॒ न वि॒द्वान् ।
वि यस्त॒स्तम्भ॒ षळि॒मा रजां॑स्य॒जस्य॑ रू॒पे किमपि॑ स्वि॒देक॑म् ॥

" I ask, unknowing, those who know, the sages, as one all ignorant for sake of knowledge. What was that one who in the unborn's image hath established and fixed firm these world's six regions ? "[5]

इह ब्र॑वीतु॒ य ई॑म॒ङ्ग वेदा॒स्य वा॒मस्य॒ निहि॑तं प॒दं वेः ।
शी॒र्ष्णः क्षी॒रं दु॑हते॒ गावो॑ अस्य व॒व्रिं वसा॑ना उद॒कं प॒दापुः॑ ॥

" Let him who knoweth presently declare it, this lovely Bird's securely founded station. Forth from his head the cows draw milk and wearing his vesture, with their foot have drunk the water. "[6]

In one *mantra* four questions are asked and the next one provides their answers in the same order :—

पृ॒च्छामि॑ त्वा॒ परम॒न्तं॑ पृ॒थि॒व्याः पृ॒च्छामि॒ यत्र॒ भुव॑नस्य॒ नाभिः॑ ।
पृ॒च्छामि॑ त्वा॒ वृष्णो॒ अश्व॑स्य॒ रेतः॑ पृ॒च्छामि॑ वा॒चः प॑र॒मं व्यो॑म ॥

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3 *Ṛgveda*, I. 164.4.
4 *Ibid.*, I. 164.5.
5 *Ibid.* I. 164.6.
6 *Ibid.* I. 164.7.

> इयं वेदिः परो अन्तः पृथिव्या अयं यज्ञो भुवनस्य नाभिः ।
> अयं सोमो वृष्णो अश्वस्य रेतो ब्रह्मायं वाचः परमं व्योम ॥

"I ask thee of the earth's extremest limit, where is the centre of the world, I ask thee. I ask thee of the stallion's seed prolific, I ask of highest heaven where speech abideth".

"This altar is the earth's extremest limit. This sacrifice of ours is the world's centre. The stallion's seed prolific is the *Soma*; this Brahman is the highest heaven where speech abideth".[7]

Though these questions are couched in the contemporary phraseology and idiom, it is evident that they refer generally to fundamental issues with regard to the origin, nature and support of creation and particularly to the unitary first cause of the world. The seer of the hymn also attempts to provide speculative answers which also are symbolic in way of presentation. Leading orientalists like Wilson, Geldner, Pischel, Kunhan Raja, V. S. Agrawal and others have attempted to decipher these riddle-like symbols and some of them have declared them to be a bold attempt at hinting about the problems of existence on the strength of the sage's personal experiential datum.[8]

The most significant question which the seer poses is about the mystery of his own identity, but he has no doubt about his relation to the first-born of the *Ṛta* and the mind being the cause of his wandering :

> न वि जानामि यदि वेदमस्मि निण्यः सन्नद्धो मनसा चरामि ।
> यदा मागन्प्रथमजा ऋतस्यादिद्वाचो अश्नुवे भागमस्याः ॥

"I know not clearly whether I am the same as this cosmos : a mystery am I, yet fettered by mind I wander. When the first-born of the cosmic order entered me, I obtained a portion of this speech".[9]

This nascent tendency of self-enquiry led ultimately to the discovery of the Self, often called *tman* or *ātman* in the *Ṛgveda*, being identical with the world-ground, the *Brahman* which initially denoted prayer, the power of prayer, the power of sacrifice and then finally the power in the universe. The inspired utterances like "I became Manu and the Sun", *Ṛgveda*, IV. 26.1, "I alone blow like wind creating all the worlds", X. 125.8; "I, Romaśā, am the all" I. 126.7 and the like are rooted in personal mystic experience, and are the seeds that gave rise to the mighty philosophy of the Upaniṣads.

So far all the questions discussed are from one hymn only. Different sort of questions, however, are strewn all over the *Ṛgveda*. Generally there are questions regarding the origin and cause of the creation, about the procedure of the first sacrifice, about the number of deities, and also there are doubts verging on scepticism regarding the knowability of the first cause. Questions regarding the creation mainly concern with the *adhiṣṭhāna*, or support and *ārambhaṇa*, the triggering process :—

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[7] *Ibid*, I. 164. 34,35.

[8] Agrawal, V.S., *Op.cit.*, p. 2.

[9] *Ṛgveda*, I. 164.37.

किं स्वि॑दासीदधि॒ष्ठान॑मा॒रम्भ॑णं कत॒मस्वि॑त्क॒थाऽऽसी॑त् ।
यत॒ो भूमिं॑ जनय॑न्विश्वक॑र्मा॒ वि द्यामौर्णो॑न्महि॒ना वि॒श्वच॑क्षाः ॥

"What was the basis and beginning, what was the procedure? Whence the all-seeing Viśvakarmā, producing the earth, with mighty power disclosed the heavens[10] ?".

Speculating about the condition prior to creation, the seer asserts that it cannot be described as non-existence or existence, there being no air and the sky beyond it. He, then poses a question :—

किमाव॑रीवः॒ कुह॒ कस्य॒ शर्म॒न्नम्भः॒ किमा॑सी॒द्गह॑नं ग॒भीरम् ।

"What covered in and where ? and what gave shelter ? Was water there, unfathomed depth of water".[11]

Another mode of thought conceived the creation as fashioning the earth and the heaven from some material like wood : –

किं स्वि॒द्वनं॒ क उ॒ स वृ॒क्ष आ॑स॒ यतो॒ द्यावा॑पृथि॒वी नि॑ष्टत॒क्षुः ।

"What was the tree, what wood in sooth produced it, from which they fashioned out the earth and heaven".[12]

The question relating to the number of deities is asked in all seriousness :—

कत्य॒ग्नयः॒ कति॒ सूर्या॑सः॒ कत्यु॒षासः॒ कत्यु॑स्विदा॒पः ।
नोप॒स्पिजं॑ वः पितरो वदामि पृ॒च्छामि वः कवयो वि॒द्मने॒ कम् ॥

"How many are the Fires and Suns in number ? What is the number of Dawns and Waters ? Not jestingly I speak to you, O Fathers. Sages, I ask you this for knowledge".[13]

The appropriate answer to this question is provided which suggests not only the dominant trend of monotheism but of monism :—

एक॑ ए॒वाग्निर्ब॑हु॒धा समि॑द्धः॒ एकः॒ सूर्यो॒ विश्व॒मनु॒ प्रभू॑तः ।
एकै॒वोषा सर्व॑मि॒दं वि भा॒त्येकं॒ वा इ॒दं त्रि ब॑भूव॒ सर्व॑म् ॥

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10 *Ibid*, X. 81.2.
11 *Ibid*, X. 129.1.
12 *Ibid*, X. 81.4.
13 *Ibid*, X. 88.18.

" Kindled in many a spot, still one is Agni; Sūrya is one though high over all he shines. Illumining this all, still one is Uṣā. That which is one hath into all developed ".[14]

Regarding the first sacrifice in which all the deities adorned the one God, various questions are asked about its arche-type and accessories :—

कासीत्प्रमा प्रतिमा किं निदानमाज्यं किमासीत्परिधिः क आसीत् ।
छन्दः किमासीत्प्रउगं किमुक्थ यद्देवा देवमयजन्त विश्वे ॥

" What were the rule, the order and the model ? What were the butter and the circumference ? What were the hymn, the chant, the recitation, when to the God all deities paid worship ".[15]

The rest of the hymn speaks of the sacrifice in question, being the very model of order and functioning of the universe. This is also called the ancient path. There is a very significant statement to the effect that there is one God bearing the names of different deities and is the all-knowing progenitor of us all. To him alone all questions of various types refer :—

यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा ।
यो देवानां नामधा एक एव तं सम्प्रश्नं भुवना यन्त्यन्या ॥

" Father, who made us, he who, as Disposer, knoweth all races and all things existing. Even he alone, the bearer of the deities' names, him other beings with quries seek for knowledge ".[16]

There are also statements expressing the fundamental doubt supported by reason about the gnosis of the first cause of creation, verging almost to scepticism :—

को अद्धा वेद क इह प्रवोचत्कुत आजाता कुत इयं विसृष्टिः ।
अर्वाग् देवा अस्य विसर्जनेनाथा को वेद यत आबभूव ॥
इयं विसृष्टिर्यत आबभूव यदि वा दधे यदि वा न ।
यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्त्सो अङ्ग वेद यदि वा न वेद ॥

" Who verily knows and who can here declare it, whence it was bron and whence comes this creation ? The deities are later than this world's production. Who knows, whence it first came into being ? "

" He, the first origin of this creation, whether he formed it all or did not form it. Whose eye controls this world in highest heaven, he verily knows it, or perhaps he knows not ".[17]

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14 *Ibid*, VIII. 58.2.
15 *Ibid*, X. 130.3.
16 *Ibid*, X. 82.3.
17 *Ibid*, X. 129.6,7.

It is clear from this discussion that the tendency to question was basic with the seers of the *Ṛgveda*. Even it was believed that one earns the title of *kavi* or seer only through his capacity to tackle fundamental riddles and provide solutions to vital problems of life :

कविर्निण्यं विदथानि साधन्[18] ।

Thus, *kavi* is he who unriddles a secret.

In the other three Vedas also there are questions of similar nature, but they are not very important from the philosophical stand-point. The questions and their answers in the Brāhmaṇas reveal a marked development in this respect. Commenting upon the first *mantra* of the *Nāsadīya sūkta* (*Ṛgveda*, X 129), the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states :

" Verily, in the beginning, there was here the non-existent. As to this they ask : " What was that non-existent ? " The *Ṛṣis* assuredly; it is they that were non-existent. As to this they ask : " Who were those *Ṛṣis* ? " The *Ṛṣis*, doubtless were the vital breaths, *prāṇas*, inasmuch as before (the existence of) this universe, they, desiring it, wore themselves out (*ris*) with toil and austerity. Therefore they are called *Ṛṣis* ".[19]

This passage, containing a series of questions and answers, attempts to throw light on the causal state of the universe and points out that before the manifestation, there prevailed the non-manifest, but it was not complete void, and can be described as all-pervasive principle of *prāṇa* or life, in an unorganised condition which, in modern terminology, is called indeterminate infinite continuum.

Janaka, the king of the Videhas asked a series of questions to Yājñavalkya regarding the essential character of *agnthotra*, the answers of which are remarkable inasmuch as they reveal its real form being a psychic process. This inner process may or may not be accompanied by outer gesture and material offering :—

" Janaka of Videha once asked Yājñavalkya, ' Knowest thou the *agnihotra*, Yājñavalkya ? ' ' I know it ', he said. ' What is it ? ' ' Milk indeed '. ' If there were no milk, wherewith wouldst thou sacrifice ? '. ' With rice and barley '. ' If there were no rice and barley, wherewith wouldst thous sacrifice ? '. ' With the other herbs '. ' If there were no other herbs, wherewith wouldst thou sacrifice ? '. ' With fruits '. ' If there were no fruits, wherewith wouldst thou sacrifice ? '. ' With water '. " If there were no water, wherewith wouldst thou sacrificie ? ". " In the absence of water, there would be nothing here, still

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18 *Ibid*, IV. 16.3.

19 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 1.1.

the truth will be offered in faith....It is with mind alone that *agnihotra* can be offered ...They, therefore, say that *Prāṇa*, indeed, is the *agnihotra* ".[20]

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V. 18-24 works out the logical corollary of this *prāṇāgnihotra*, identifying the *vaiśvānara prāṇa* that eats the food with the self and the latter with all that exists and concludes : 'If knowing it thus, one offers the *agnihotra*, he offers it in all worlds, in all beings, in all selves.'[21]

It is very interesting to note that asking subtle philosophical questions of one's choice was valued more than any material gain and if some knowledgeable person offered to give a boon, it was made an occasion for asking such questions. At *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 6. 2-10 there is a mention of Yājñavalkya granting a boon to the king Janaka, who kept it at that time with him as precions possession to be utilised at proper occasion. When the king felt the occasion had arisen, he asked Yājñavalkya a series of questions regarding the self-luminosity of the *ātman*, the most significant philosophical topic :—

" What light does a person here have? 'He has the light of the Sun, Your Majesty, for with the Sun as the light, one sits, moves about, does one's work and returns'....' When the Sun has set, Yājñavalkya what light does a person here have ?'. 'The moon, indeed....' 'When the moon has set ...' 'The fire, indeed is his light ..' 'When the Sun and moon have set and the fire has gone out, what light a person does here have ?' 'Speech, indeed, is the light....' 'When the Sun and the moon have set and the fire has gone out and the speech has stopped, what light does a person here have ?' 'The self, indeed, is the light, for with self as the light, one sits, moves about, does one's work and returns'. 'Which is the self ?' 'The person here who consists of knowledge among the senses, the light within the heart.... "[22]

It is evident that the king asked these questions, making the dream-state as the focal-point, for in that state neither any external light nor the light of speech is operative; still one finds oneself working in light, the source of which is the point to which the questions are directed. This source of extra-phenomenal light is identified as the self, further revelation about which runs unto the end of the chapter. The gamut of discussion is centred around the metaphysical verity, the self, the non-dual ultimate reality, *sui-generis*, and veers along topics of psychological and para-psychological interest.

That the value of spontaneous philosophical question far outweighs the most cherished material gains is demonstrated by the celebrated questioner *par-excellence*, Naciketas in the ***Kaṭhopaniṣad***. Naciketas asks Yama—the god of death—the question regarding the post-mortem or according to some post liberation condition of the soul and would not be enticed away from it by most powerful allurements. His question is direct and unambiguos :—

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[20] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 3.1.1-8.

[21] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V. 24.2.

[22] ***Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad***, IV. 3.2-8.

"There is this doubt in regard to a man who has departed, some holding that he exists and some that he does not. I would be instructed by thee in this knowledge. Of the boons, this is the third one[23]".

By way of answering this question, Yama expounded the doetrine of the unborn, undying, eternal Self to be realised through self-contemplation, since it is difficult to be seen, deeply hidden and set in the cave of heart as it is. The self-realised one perceives the totality of objective existence as himself and consequently cannot have any desire for any object, whereas the unrealised one, since he sees the object as different from himself desires the object and thus is re-born :—

"As pure water poured forth into pure, becomes the very same, so the self, O Gautama, of the seer who has understanding, becoms one with the Supreme[24]".

The illustration of Naciketas suggests that it is the spirit of determined, spontaneous probity into the subtle riddle of life behind the question and not the question itself that matters. To ask certain question presupposes not merely an intellectual preparedness but also ethical purification and the capacity to withstand various allurements which may lead the aspirant away from his earnest inquiry.

An instance of much learning without the genuine urge to inquire deeper and deepr into the nature of reality, is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VI. 1. Śvetaketu studied for twelve years and became conceited of his intellectual achievements. His father asked him whether he had asked for that instruction by which the unheard becomes heard, the unperceived becomes the perceived and the unknown the known. The son had, in no manner, reached that state of maturity, in which the natural urge to know things beyond ordinary concerns of empirical life, sprouts. The father, then, teaches him how is the question formulated and enunciates the profound philosophy of the absolute Being, the primeval non-dual cause of the world.

That the urge of thinking logically for one-self, so as to raise pertinent questions and to arrive at the right conclusion, is felt within oneself, only when one transcends the immediate transient interests and ordinary worldly preoccupations is sharply indicated by the parable of the gods and demons who, on hearing about the Self, free from evil, death and grief, desire to know him from Prājapati. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII. 9. narrates a parable of Indra, a representative of gods and Virocana that of the demons, approaching Prajāpati for the instruction about the Self. Both of them lived there the disciplined life of a student of sacred knowledge for thirty two years. They were instructed by Prajāpati that the person seen in the eye or reflected in mirror is the Self. Virocana was satisfied with this instruction and propagated among the demons the view that the body alone was the Self. But Indra, while returning to the gods, reflected on the instruction of Prajāpati and concluded that the body, subject to destruction as it is, cannot be the Self. He approached Prajāpati again, lived the disciplined life of a student of sacred knowledge for further thirty-two years and was instructed that the self experienced in dream was the Self. Indra once again reflected and concluded for himself that the subject of the state of dream cannot be the Self, since it too experiences unpleasant things and comes to grief. For the third time he approached Prajāpati, lived the disciplined life for further thiry two years and was instructed about the self in deep sleep. But Indra, again on proper and logical reflection, concluded that the subject in deep sleep gets merged into ignorance and is, as if, annihilated, and cannot, therefore, be the Self. Once again, Indra approached Prajāpati, lived a disciplined life for five years and was finally instructed about the spirit which though embodied, transcends the body and is immortal and blissful.

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[23] *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, I. 1.20.

[24] *Ibid*, II. 1. 14-15.

This parable brings out clearly the fact that questions, merely repeated verbally and not grown organically from within oneself, cannot be effective as they do not indicate one's intellectual or spiritual development. For questions to grow naturally and organically, the mode of one's living is the determinant. For a person engaged in worldly pursuits questions will arise, but they will be of a different sort. For scientific investigation, one must modify one's mode of life, so as to bring about one-pointedness of mind and requisite perseverance. But for philosophical thinking or metaphysical realisation or for the attainment of the liberating truth, one must subject oneself to a life of utmost discipline, self-control and single-minded inquiry, leading to the highest degree of contemplative process that alone can reveal the Ultimate Reality. This is necessary because the liberating truth enshrined within one's own heart is rendered inaccessible by the inordinate, transient pursuits.

This fact is corroborated by the *Praśnopaniṣad* in which Sukeśā, Satyakāma, Gārgya, Kabandhi, Bhārgava and Kausalya, all devoted to *Brahman* alone, intent on seeking the highest *Brahman*, approcahed Pippalāda, with sacrificial twigs in hand, for the sake of necessary instruction. All of them are made to live a specific mode of disciplined life and then only allowed to asked questions. All of them asked subtle questions, their answers constituting sections numbering six. The very title of the Upaniṣad is suggestive of the process of natural, spontaneous origin of the spirit of questioning and the final solution.

There is a limit to the spirit of quostoning. About the ultimate and transcendental reality, beyond which there is nothing, one should not ask questions, regarding its support or cause, as it is held to be the final support and cause. Such questions are designated as *atipraśnas* or inadmissible questions. If one presses too much and demands the solutions of such inadmissible questions, one runs the risk of losing one's head, both metaphorically and physically. An earnest and honest inquirer reaches the consummation on realising the ultimate reality. There-after all his doubts and complexes of the heart vanish for good and yield their place to the unshakable conviction about the self-evident truth of the inmost reality the Self, the transcendent principle of subjectivity, encompassing and comprehending the totality of the objective existence.*

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IS ṚV 10.121 A HYMN TO PRAJĀPATI ?

By

Mrs. Jayashree Sathe*

The hymn ṚV 10.121 has already aroused much discussion among scholars and raised divergent views; the most prevalent view being that the hymn is addressed to Prajāpati. But, since I feel that the validity of this view depends upon a proper interpretation or examination of the subject-matter of the hymn, I propose to discuss the same anew.

To begin with, the celebrated refrain of the hymn is '*kásmai devā'ya haviṣā vidhema*' ? and it has raised a number of interpretations as seen from the commentarial literature. It is alleged by some (i.e. Bloomfield[1] and others[2]) that the whole hymn poses a riddle whose answer one may get from a clue in the last verse of this hymn; that is to say : the word *kásmai* (in all the earlier verses) is replaced by the word *prajāpataye*. In other words, the hymn may be said to declare the nature of the deity Prajāpati.

It is, however, difficult (as I have suggested above) to accept this view—for the following reasons :

I. There is already a doubt as to whether the tenth verse really belonged to that hymn[3] and I suspect that it did not, because,

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* 47, Shukravar Peth, Pune, 411 002.

[1] *JAOS*, Vol. 15, New Haven. 'Contributions to the interpretation of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield, p. 184.

[2] (i) *JAOS*, Vol. 85, New Haven, 1965. 'Theories of creation in the Rig-Ved' by W. Norman Brown, p. 32.

(ii) *Der Rigveda* Übersetzung von A. Ludwig, Vol. 2, Prag, 1876, pp. 575-76.

(iii) *Rig-Veda* von H. Grassmann, Vol. 1. Leipzig, 1876, p. 398.

[3] (i) *Der Rig-Veda* von K. F. Geldner, Vol. 3, Horward Oriental Series—Vol. 35, Cambridge, 1951, p. 349, footnote—'Die Antwort die der Dichter des Liedes unausgesprochen im Sinne hot, ist vielleicht erst spater von einem Zudichter gegeben worden. . . . '

(ii) 'The cosmology of the Rig-Veda' An Essay by H. W. Wallis, London, 1887, p. 52 footnote—

'The last verse is not divided up in the *pada*-recension, this fact and the absence of the refrain would seem to prove the verse a later addition'.

(a) There is an important reason noticeable in tradition, viz : the tenth verse does not have its *padapāṭha*, this means that Sākalya did not seem to know this verse as forming an integral part of the hymn.

(b) This hymn occurs in other Vedic Saṁhitās, except in the *Sāmaveda*, in the following way :

Verse	*RV 10.121*	*Other Saṁhitās*[4]
1	*hiraṇyagarbhaḥ*	— (1) VS. 13.4; 23.1; 25.10
		(2) TS. 4.1.8.3; 2.8.2
		(3) MS. 2.13.23.1
		(4) AV. 4.2.7
2	*yá ātmadā'*	— (1) VS. 25.13
		(2) TS. 4.1.8.4; 7.5; 17.1
		(3) MS. 2.13.23.2
		(4) AV. 4.2.1; 13.3.24
3	*yáḥ prāṇtó*	— (1) VS. 23.3; 25.11
		(2) TS. 4.1.8.4; 7.5.16.1
		(3) MS. 2 13.23
		(4) AV. 4.2.2
4	*yásya imé himávanto*	— (1) VS. 25.12
		(2) TS. 4.1.8.4
		(3) MS. 2.13.23
		(4) AV. 4.2.5
5	*yéna dyaúr ūgrā'*	— (1) VS. 32.6
		(2) TS. 4.1.8.5
		(3) MS. 2.13.23
		(4) AV. 4.2.4
6	*yáṁ krándasī*	— (1) VS. 32.7
		(2) TS. 4.1.8.5
		(3) MS. 2.13.23
		(4) AV. 4.2.3
7	*ā'po ha yád bṛhatī'*	— (1) VS. 27.25; 32.7
		(2) TS. 2.2.12.1; 4.1.8.5
		(3) MS. 2.13.23
		(4) AV. 4.2.6
8	*yáś cid ā'po*	— (1) VS. 27.26; 32.7
		(2) TS. 4.1.8.6.
9	*mā' no hiṁsīt*	— (1) VS. 7.10.2.
		(2) TS. 4.2.7.1

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[4] VS = *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, TS = *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*
MS = *Māitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā*, AV = *Atharva Veda* (Śaunaka).

Verse	*RV. 10.121*		*Other Saṁhitās*
10	*prájāpate ná tvád*	— (1)	VS. 10.20; 23.65
		(2)	TS. 1.8.14.2; 3.2.5.6
		(3)	AV. 7.94.4; 80 3; 21 3.23

But particular mention should be made of *AV. Śaunaka* 4.2; and MS. 21.3.23 wherein we notice the first seven verses of our hymn. Yet, there also the tenth verse is missing : This would indicate that the verse could have been a later addition to the ṚV-hymn.

(c) Again, wherever the tenth verse individually occurs in other Saṁhitās, its contexts differ from that in the ṚV-hymn in the following way :

e.g. (1) The *TS. 1.8.14.2* shows this verse as employed as the '*abhiṣeka-mantra*' (i.e. to be recited at the coronation of the King) in the context of *Rājasūya* sacrifice. Further, it should also be noted that here the seer is also different than that of ṚV 10.121; as well as the context. The seer of ṚV. 10.121 is Prajāpatiputra Hiraṇyagarbha, whereas TS. 1.8.14.2 has the seer Viśvedevāḥ.[5]

(2) The *TS. 3.2.5.6* shows the verse which is to be used at the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice in the third-pressing, in connection with the rites relating to the ancestors. Here also the seer is Viśvedevāḥ.[5]

(3) The *MS. 2.6.12* also prescribes that the verse is to be employed in in connection with the Rājasūya sacrifice as the *abhiṣeka-mantra.*

(4) The *AV. 7.80* which contains this verse viz. verse 3. is a hymn addressed to Pūrṇimā, or Pūrṇamāsī, (but not to Prajāpati).

(5) However, at *AV. 7.79*, in a hymn addressed to Amāvāsyā we find an imitation of this verse :

ámāvāsye nā' tvā'd etā'ni anyó víśvā rūpā'ṇi . . . . .

AV. 7.79.4

Thus the occurrence of the verse in various contexts in most cases without the *padapāṭha* and only once i.e. in TS. 1.8.14.2 with *padapāṭha* may reveal that, for the *padakāra* of the TS., the verse was an integral part of the TS. 1.8.14. And mainly this verse, with this type of variation as e.g. in AV. 7.79.4 *ámāvāsye ná tvád* . . . , can reveal its free adaptation to any hymn. [Suppose for instance– *indra na tvad* . . . etc.]

So it is possible to conclude that, one, who thought of employing RV. 10.121 in some ritual intended for Prajāpati, inserted the tenth verse in the hymn after Śākalya had redacted the ṚV. Saṁhitā and written his *padapāṭha* on the same.

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[5] *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* ed. Satavalekar, p. 55, 120.

II. There are yet more difficulties also :

(a) According to the rule of Vedic-grammar of '*sarvanāmnaḥ sami*', *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 7.1.14; *kásmai* is definitely a pronominal dative singular form, which it is difficult to equate with the nominal form *kāya*; this latter also being attested in the Veda frequently, for example in:

(1) *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* 1.20.3 and *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* 1.22.5
kāya tvā paridadāmi

(2) *TS*. 3.2.3.2 . *dakṣakratúbhyām*. .*ko'si kò nā'ma kásmai tvā kā'ya tvā yám tvā* .

has employed this mantra, at the *Agniṣṭoma* sacrifice, in the context of *somāvekṣaṇa* That means the Adhvaryu, the sacrificer and the other priests recite this *mantra* while gazing at the cups filled with Soma-juice.

In these examples, it is seen that *kāya* is mentioned separately by the side of *kásmai*. It is, therefore, difficult to understand *kásmai* in ṚV. 10.121 as *kāya*. However, the time-honoured Vedic commentator Sāyaṇa explains *kásmai* as *prajāpataye* in four ways; thus :

(1) *stra kim śabdo' nirjñāta svarūpatvtāt prajāpatau vartate*
since a definite meaning or aspect of *kim* is unknown, *kim* denotes Prajāpati.

(2) *yad vā sṛṣṭyartham kāmyata iti kaḥ*
since He—Prajāpati desired for the Creation, He is known as *Ka*.

(3) *kam sikham tad rūpatvāt ka ity ucyate*
since *ka* itself is happiness and Prajāpati is full of happiness.

(4) *athava indreṇa pṛṣṭaḥ prajāpatir madīyam mahattvam*
tubhyam pradāya aham kaḥ kīdṛśaḥ syāma ity uktavān
sa indraḥ praty ūce yadi idam bravīṣy aham kaḥ syāma iti
tad eva tvam bhava iti.
After Indra asked, Prajāpati requestioned to him—" Having given thee my might, then who am I ?" to which Indra replied, " If thou askest ' who (—*ka*) am I ?' that be thou " (i.e. be thou *ka*).

All these seem to be based on the hypothesis that *ka* is Prajāpati. Be it so, none of these offers any clue as to why *kásmai* is to be taken as equivalent of *prajāpataye*.

Mahīdhara in his *Vedadīpa* on VS. 32.6[6] comments : *tam vihāya kasm devāya hav'r dadmaḥ na kasmai cit ity arthaḥ* and he further remarks *kásm* means *ékasmai*, and if one understands *kásmai* of *ékasmai*, then only meaning is clear to one.

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[6] *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* ed. Weber, Varanasi, 1872, p. 861.

Veṇkaṭmādhava in his commentary[7] on RV 10.121 1 explains *kásmai* as *tásmai* which does not seem to be satisfactory, since if the seer or poet intended so, he could have directly used *tásmai* instead of *kásmai*.

The discussion so far points out that there are some who were led to think *kásmai* as *tásmai* or *kásmai* as a shortform of *ékasmai*. If one examines *kásmai* and *ékasmai* one finds it difficult to understand *kásmai* as *ékasmai* due to the problem of accent. In the case of *kásmai* the accent is on the initial vowel '*e*', which is automatically dropped if one drops '*e*' from *ékasmai*. Then while dropping accented '*e*', one has to think of its accent on the next syllable *ka* which necessiates a query if such a phenomenon is noticed anywhere else in the Vedas. Yet, some others[8] might argue about a similar case e.i. of *ātmánā* changing into *tmánā*. But, since in both these words the accent is on *tmá*, it cannot be considered as a similar case.

III. This hymn has been understood as one addressed to an unknown god by western scholars :

Geldner[9] entitles the hymn 'Welcher Gott'. He remarks it as one of the hymns of creation (i.e. schofungslied) and the tenth verse does not provide a clue to the repeatedly asked question in the refrain '*kásmai devāya haviṣā vidhema* ?'

Lüders[10] says about *kásmai* 'We ist das ?' This appears to be more correct way of understanding *ka*.

Lammel[11] and *Otto*[12] say that this hymn is to the unknown-god.

Max Muller[13] considers this hymn as addressed to the unknown god and he remarks :

" We find that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas had so completely broken with the past that forgetful of the poetical character of the hymns, and the yearning of the poets after the unknown god; they exalted the interrogative pronoun into a deity ; and acknowledged a god *ka* or who ? and wheneve interrogative verses occur they state that *ka* is Prajāpati, nor did they stop there but formed a new adjective as *kāya* and not only the hymn but sacrifices als they offered to that god. "

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[7] *Ṛgveda* ed. Vishva Bandhu, Pt. VII, Hoshiarpur, 1965, p. 3792

[8] *Vedavāṇi* 19 2, '*kasmai evāya haviṣā vidhema*' by Radhemohan, p. 21.

[9] *Der Rig-V da* von. K. F. Geldner, Vol. 3, p. 347.

[10] '*Philologica Indica*' *Ausgewählte kleihe schriften* von H. Luders, Gotingen, 1940, p. 382.

[11] *Gedichte des Rig-Veda* von H. Lommel, München, 1955, p. 118.

[12] *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Ariet* von. R. Otto, Germany 1932, p. 118.

[13] *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. Max Muller, Allahabad, 912, p. 433.

Oldenberg[14] take this to be addressed to ' Um den unbekannten Gott

Thus all of them seem to be unanimously agreeing on that the last vers does not provide any clue to any riddle which one feels ; this hymn is accordin to them—one addressed to some unknown god.

Hence, *kásmai* may not be equated with *kāya* referring to some one god- not of course as yet called Prajāpati.

IV. There is another significant support for the above :

If we compare AV. 4.2 with RV. 10.121, we find that the hymn in the A comprises of the same verses as of ṚV. 10.121 only, but these are arranged the in a different order. Thus—

Verses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 of ṚV. 10.121 are
Verses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1 in AV. 4.2
ṚV. 10.121 has ten verses, while AV. 4.2 has only eight, out of which seve are the same as there in ṚV. 10.121, but the eighth one of AV. 4.2 is quite different verse, viz : *āpo vatsám janáyantīr gárbha* .....
Yet, the common seven verses also are to be seen in the AV. 4.2 with importa variant readings, for example—
ṚV. 10.121. 3c yá iśe asyá dvipádaś cátuṣpadaḥ.....
AV 4.2. 1c yó'syá ī'śe dvipádo yáś cátuṣpadaḥ......

It would be interesting to show how and whether the thoughts in th Atharvavedic verses are logically connected, but, it is a subject for a separate pape and therefore, I give here only one example :

..yásya imā'ḥ pradíśo yásya bāhū'.. ṚV. 10.121.4c
and *...imā'ś ca pradíśo yásya bāhū'...AV. 4.2 5c.*

In the case of *ṚV. 10.121.4c* the repetition of *yásya* in a single hemistitc creates the problem of syntax and also of meaning. The way to come out th difficulty is to consider that, ' one *yásyah* is meant for the sake of metre.

If one compares this wording with that *AV. 4.2.5c*, one finds that the latt construction is obviously simple, which, therefore, expresses the concept intende by the seer more exactly : " and these directions are whose arms ".....

After considering this example one may note that the concepts in th hymn are more clear in the wording of AV. 4.2, than that of ṚV 10.121.

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[14] *Textkritische und Exegetische Noten* von. H. Oldenberg Buch 7-1 p. 341.

On the basis of this it would not be wrong to say that AV. 4.2 and ṚV 10.121 have elaborated some of the earlier floating thoughts on the Ātman. In fact, the AV-hymn is entitled in the Ātharvaṇic tradition as Ātmavidyā and its deity is taken to be Ātman. This would show that the RV-hymn—already in the tenth *Maṇḍala*, which is later in the Ṛgvedic corpus—breathes the philosophical atmosphere of the AV. and was possibly contemporaneous with the AV; if not later; and it seems to turn to the *neti neti* type of expressions about Reality. Another important point is—the hymn AV. 10.7 entitled as ‘ *sarvādhāravarṇanam* has the same interrogative style :

kásmin áṅge tápo asya ádhi tiṣṭhati. . . AV. 10.7.1a etc. and it comes to the conclusion in verses 32 to 36 *tásmai jyeṣṭhā'ya bráhmaṇe námaḥ*

This shows the trend of the philosophical thoughts which were gradually developing in the Vedic poems.

V. Now, we can consider how some ideas of our hymn find expressions in various Upaniṣads :

(1) *hiraṇyagarbháḥ sámavartata ágre*. . . . RV. 10.121.1a
tadā aṇḍam niravartat saṁvatsarasya mātrām aśyat
tan nirabhidyatā te aṅḍakapāle rajatam ca suvarṇam ca
abhavatām Chāndogya Upaniṣad 3.19.1.

(2) *yáḥ prāṇató nimiṣató mahitvā' éka id rā'jā jágato babhū'va*
ṚV. 10.121.3a.

. . *ejat prāṇan nimiṣṣat ca yad etat jānatha sadasad*
vareṇyam param vijñānāt yad variṣṭham prajānām
Muṇḍakopaniṣad 2.2.1

(3) *ā'po ha yád bṛhatī'* . . . . . ṚV. 10.121.7a
sa īkṣata ime nu lokāḥ lokapālān nu srujā iti
so'dbhyah eva puruṣam samuddhṛtya āmūrchayat
Aitareya Upaniṣad 1.3

Also the descriptions like :

yá ātmadā' baladā' . . . . . ṚV. 10.121.20
yásya chāyā amṛ'tam yásya mṛtyúḥ ṚV. 10.121.2b
yátra adhi sū'ra údito vibhā'ti ṚV. 10.121.6b
clearly show their affinity with the Upaniṣadic trend of thoughts.

These in instances would reveal to one, how the hymn ṚV. 10.121 is also attempt to understand the enigma of Creation and could therefore belong to e group of philosophical hymns pertaining to the Ātman [Creation etc.].

I. Hence, at this stage, after considering the various views, commentaries, comparisons we may be able to understand the hymn in the following manner :

This hymn is simply a philosophical poem, it is a spontaneous outcome of the poet's burning desire for understanding the Supreme-Being. The style of expression is leaning towards the expression of His immanence by repetitions like—

yéna dyaur ūgrā' pṛthivī ca dṛḷhā' ...ṚV. 10.121.5a
yám krándasī ávasā tastabhāné .....ṚV. 10.121.6a
yásya víśva upāste praśíṣam yásya devāḥ ...ṚV. 10.121.2a

Then, in between, he says about the origin of the Universe—

ā'po ha yád bṛhatī'r viśvam ā'yan gárbham dádhānā janáyantīr agním
táto devā'nām sámavartad ásur ékaḥ kásmai devā'ya ...ṚV. 10.121.7

Or he sprang into existence from that deep unfathomable waters and to the contrary that water was His own Creation.

These thoughts reveal how much the poet is longing to try to understand the Great-Being and the Creation of the Cosmos. The poet seems to be overwhelmed not only by the thoughts of His greatness but he is aware of His destructive power also; that is why he concludes the hymn with the request—'Let that Creator not destruct us... '—

mā' no hiṁsīta janitā .. ṚV. 10.121.9a.

Upto the end, he puts the question '*kásmaī devā'ya havíṣā vidhema ?* as it is, which suggests that this is a question which has its answer in itself. It is in the form of a figure of speech where the answer is only obvious it is bu natural to feel necessary to serve the Supreme One.

In the very first verse of the hymm the poet attributes Him as Hiraṇyagarbha. Though his word is understood in the Brāhmaṇas as an epithet of Prajāpati, the various Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣadic references point it to the Brahman for example :

(1) *hiraṇyagarbham paśyata jāyamānam sa no devaḥ*
śubhayā smṛtyā saṁyunaktu || Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 10.10.3c
Sāyaṇa explains here that this verse should be recited for obtainin the *Brahmavidyā.*

(2) *vedātmanāya vidmahe hiraṇyagarbhāya dhīmahi |*
tan no brahma pracodayāt || Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 10.1.6b
Even in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* one reads—
Om prajāpatim tarpayāmi Om caturmukham tarpayāmi
Om hiraṇyagarbham tarpayāmi || 2.5.9.5

It should be observed here how Prajāpati and Hiraṇyagarbha are mentione separately. There is, therefore, sufficient reason to take ṚV. 10.121 relate more with this thought rather than with the thoughts of the Brāhmaṇas.

The poet conceives here the Great-Being as Hiraṇyagarbha—a *Deva* and the world *Deva* in the celebrated refrain also does not mean here only a god but in the sense of that 'highest principle which shines within every individual' as in the verse –

eko devaḥ sarvabhūteṣu gūḍhaḥ sarvavyāpī /
sarvabhūtāntarātmā // *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 6.11a.

It may therefore be said that it is a hymn to Hiraṇyagarbha or to the Supreme-One, who not only creates but also sustains this Universe. Finally, one may say that such an All-pervading Being cannot be really known or comprehended and therefore it is better to stop at the ninth verse and to let the word *kásmai* stand as it is, i.e. unexplained by *tásmai* or *ékasmai*.

The answer to this question '*kàsmai devāya havíṣā vidhema ?*' can be given with the help of the famous Vedic line thus :

tásmai, yad—ékam sád víprā bahudhā' vadanti / ṚV. 1.164.46b.

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URVAŚĪ BIRTH STORY—A STUDY

By

SIDDHESWAR JENA*

The story of Urvaśī goes back to the *Ṛgvedic* period. First of all we come across the name of Urvaśī in the Pururavā-Urvaśī dialogue hymn. In this particular hymn (RV. X.95.1-18) there is reference to the accidental meeting of Pururavas with Urvaśī and the hymn ends abruptly when all at once Urvaśī departs without caring for the request of Pururavas. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI. 5.1) develops this laconic story of the *Ṛgveda* in order to illustrate the means of going to the heaven. This myth of Pururavas and Urvaśī has passed through different stages and different versions of the myth are found in the Vedic texts, Vedic ancillaries, the Epics and the Purāṇas.[1] It is admitted by one and all that the *Ṛgvedic* hymn X. 95 is the source of all the later stories about Urvaśī and Pururavas and in the drama Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa this particular myth finds its full flowery expression. But in spite of the different versions of Pururavā-Urvasī myth in different texts, one will be very much disappointed to find out the origin of Urvaśī in the Vedic texts. It is the great commentator Yāska who first of all gives the etymological meaning of the word ' Urvaśī ' in his *Nirukta* V. 13.

Urvaśī is a nymph so called because she pervades the wide regions (Ūru+/aś ' to pervade ') or she pervades by means of thighs (Ūru+/aś " to pervade ") or her desire is great (Ūru+/vaś " to desire "). " *Urvaśy apsara, urvabhyaśnute ūrubhyām aśnute, urur vā vaśo'syāḥ* ".

In the *Bṛhaddevatā* of Śaunaka, the oldest systematic collection of *Ṛgvedic* legends, a text of 4th century B.C. there is reference to Urvaśī at two places. Out of its two references (II. 59, VII. 147) it is only in II. 59 that Urvaśī is referred to as *Uruvāsinī*. In this etymological explanation of the word, the *Bṛhaddevatā* differs from any of the three derivations given in the *Nirukta*. " *Pururavasamāha enaṁ svavākyena Ūruvāsinī* " (II. 59) Uruvāsinī (Uruvaśī) in her words calls him Pururavas. " It might be that Yāska's derivation of Urvaśī (" *Ūrubhyāmaśnute* ", she pervades by means of thighs) or *Bṛhaddevatā*'s reference to Urvaṣī as *Uruvāsinī* might have prompted the redactors of the

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[1] For critical study of the legend vide Kosambi D. D., *Myth and Reality*, pp. 50ff.

Purāṇas to connect the birth of Urvaśī with *ūru* and to develop a myth out of it. In the whole of Vedic literature there is no allusion to the story of the birth of Urvaśī. When Pururavā—Urvaśī legend came to be very famous in Sanskrit literature, it seems that the redactors of the later Purāṇas fabricated stories with regard to the origin of Urvaśī. And thus the later Purāṇas speak of Urvaśī as taking her birth from the thigh of Viṣṇu, Nara or Nārāyaṇa.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* speaks of the birth of Urvaśī from the thighs of Viṣṇu (Ch. 61.21-26). Once upon a time Viṣṇu practises rigorous austerities on the summit of the Gandhamādana mountain. Afraid of his austerities Indra sends a group of nymphs in the company of Spring and Cupid in order to distract him from his penance. Lord Vissṇu is not in any way moved by their songs and music, nor is his mind attracted towards the external objects. Finding the Lord remaining firm the agents of Indra shiver with fear In order to further bewilder them, from his thigh Viṣṇu produces a damsel of exquisite beauty (*saṁkṣobhāya tatas teṣāṁ svorudeśān narāgrajaḥ nārīmutpādayāmāsa*-61.24); this damsel is known as Urvaśī, who becomes the foremost of all heavenly damsels. Her birth from the thigh of Viṣṇu is solely meant for confounding the group of nymphs deputed by Lord Indra.

The *Vāmana Purāṇa* " which belongs to an early age of Purāṇn compilation " refers to the birth of Urvaṣī from the thighs of Nārāyaṇa (6.1-23, 7.1-20). Nara and Nārāyaṇa continue penance in the sacred hermitage Badarikā. Disturbed by their penance Indra despatches Cupid and Spring along with the heavenly damsels. The sages absolutely unperturbed welcome them to their midst with all propriety and decorum. In the very presence of the Spring it is Nārāyaṇa who takes up a creeper looking lovely with blossoms and creates out of his thighs a damsel of golden limbs *mañjarīṁ kusumāvṛtām ādāya prāk-suvarṇāṅgīmurvorbālāṁ vinirmame*-7.4), Cupid is struck with wonder at this marvel. The sage advises Cupid to lead the damsel to heaven and present her to Indra.

The *Devī-Bhāgvata* (IV. Chs. 5-6) introduces the same story of Nara and Nārāyaṇa practising penance. Unlike the *Vāmana*, this Purāṇa more elaborate with reference to the adventures of Cupid, depicts the legend in the style of classical Sanskrit Kāvyas (Ch. 6.14-18). Like the Vāmana where Nara and Nārāyaṇa welcome Cupid and Spring, in *Devī Bhagavata* both the sages very willingly act as their hosts and outwardly show all honour to the incoming guests. Well aware of the treacherous move of Indra it is Nārāyaṇa who becomes conscious of his self-prestige and is determined to create a new heavenly damsel by the power of penance (" *sābhimānastu saṁjātastadā Nārāyaṇo muniḥ* 6.33ab, *darśayāmi tapobalam* 6.34b) And all at once the sage strikes his thigh with his hands and there is born Urvaśī, the lady of extreme elegance.[2] Cupid and other damsels present are stunned at this beauty. Besides Urvaśī the same number of damsels (eight thosand and five hundred) sent by Indra to disturb their penance is created by Nārāyaṇa. With a warning to Cupid and his associates not to create any trouble in future Nara and Nārāyaṇa hand over Urvaśī to them as a present to Lord Indra.

The voluminous Purāṇa text *Skanda* contains three versions of the myth relating to the birth of Urvaśī. Apparently these three different legends present the same account as given in Vāmana. The *Skanda* (II. Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa 3. Badarikāśramamāhātmya (Ch. 7.59ff) relates the glories of the sacred lake (*Urvaṣī kuṇḍa*) and suddenly brings the account to a close by just referring to the fact that the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa make a presentation of Urvaśī to Cupid and his followers. Very much terrified with the power of penance of these two ascetics, Cupid and his followers proceed to heaven and present her to Indra. Only because Urvaśī was born in the particular place where the sages practised penance, the sacred lake came to be known as *Urvaṣīkuṇḍa*. In order to justify the name *Urvaśīkuṇḍa* the hermitage of Nara and Narayana is introduced. Because of the attention on the place itself and justification of its name the redactor has not gone into the detailed description as to how Urvaśī was born.

Skanda Purāṇa (5. Avantīkhaṇḍa 1.9. 1-16) gives rather an abridged version of the legend without going into the details like the arrival of Cupid, Spring etc. Nara and Nārāyaṇa practise penance in the hermitage Badarikā. Indra is afraid and as usual he sends the nymphs to disturb the penance. Both the sages notice the nymphs sporting in dalliance; they are convinced that the damsels have come there to disturb their penance. Immediately in consultation with Nārāyaṇa with the help of a cluster of blossoms of a mango tree Nara rings out from his thigh a woman of unparallel beauty. *mañjaryā sahakārasya trīmūrubhyāṁ cakāra ha*-9.8). Very much disappointed in their plan to seduce ages, the nymphs proceed to Indra and report the birth of the beautiful damsel. All at once Indra approaches the sages as a suppliant for the girl; and without ny hesitation the sages present him the girl who is known as Urvaśī. The girl s so called because she is produced from the thighs of Nara with the help of cluster of blossoms of the mango tree (*Ūrubhyāṁ janitā yasmāt Nareṇeyaṁ arāṅganā, mañjaryā sahakārasya teneyaṁ Urvaśī matā*-9.13). The legend con-inues as to how Indra puts her under the guidance of Tumburu in order to ake her proficient in dance and music.

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[2] *iti sañcintya manasā kareṇoruṁ pratāḍya vai |*
taraso tpādayāmāsa nārīṁ sarvāṇgasundarīṁ ||
Nārāyaṇorusambhūtā hy Urvaśīti tataḥ śubhā |
dadṛśustāḥ sthitāstatra vismayaṁ paramaṁ yayuḥ || 6.35-36.

Skanda Purāṇa (5. Avantīkhaṇḍa. 3 192. 5-193.63) repeats the sam story rather in a more detaied manner. Cupid and Spring arrive along with th heavenly damsels for disturbing the penance. Through their sweet speech an graceful movements they begin to tempt both the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Still these two sages are least agitated or disturbed in their hearts because they are seated in meditation with full concentration on Brahman. What to speak of heavenly damsels ! Even Cupid shivers with fear to enter their hermitage Attempts of Cupid and Spring fail. Then Nārāyaṇa very patiently creates fron his thigh a beautiful damsel (*urorutpādayāmāsa varāṅgīmabalāṁ tadā*-192.41b) At the sight of this beautiful damsel Cupid and Spring along with all the damse offer their prayer to Nara and Nārāyaṇa and beg to be excused for their deceitf trick. Then Nārāyaṇa admonishes them and gives them lessons on the suprem state of bliss where there is no difference between good and bad. " In order t quell your pride of grace and beauty I have shown before you this beautifu damsel. Therefore do not be conceited, and this damsel will be counted as th most beautiful as she is born from my thigh (*yasmān madūroniṣpannaā*-192.88) Then Nārāyaṇa presents the girl to Indra. In this version Nara and Nārāyaṇ are supreme divinities, omnipotent and omniscient.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (Part I Ch. 129) being an Upa-purāṇ contains the old traditional story except light modification with reference t birth of Urvaśī.

" *ādāya sahakārasya rasaṁ madanadīpanam*
urvoscitreṇa cārvaṅgīṁ nirmame psarasaṁ śubhām
urvoḥ kṛtā sā citreṇa citrākaraṇśālinī
tasminneva kṣaṇe nārī babhūvāyatalocanā " 11bff.

Here the birth-motif is slightly altered in the language of the redactor the Purāṇa text. With the sap of the mango tree, the sap which is excitant passion, the sage Nārāyaṇa draws a picture of a woman on his thighs. Th with the help of that drawing, he creates the woman and brings her to life.

Thus we notice that though the story of birth of Urvaśī is absent in t Ṛgveda, the later *Purāṇakāras* have connected her birth with *ūru* and ha fabricated stories by means of it.

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MANAGEMENT OF SACRIFICIAL CEREMONIES OF ANCIENT INDIA

By

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Introduction :

The first and natural mode of management is personal leadership and this type of leadership has been practised as early as we have record of human activities. At the time of Vedic Civilization and later, circumstances had arisen which have forced leaders (temporal and priestly) to restrict themselves to performing work different from that of their followers. This is resulted from the increasing complexity of the task of the leaders, king and his *purohita*, as a result of considerable increase in the size of group being led, their physical dispersion and the complexity and the diversity of the work they have to perform as saçrificer and *purohita*.

At the beginning, man lived off the earth and its bounty. He ate roots and berries and whatever animal he could trap or kill, clothed himself in skins and lived in rude shelters. As the centuries passed man learned the value of agriculture and started growing and harvesting grains and other victuals intetionally. He started using veriety of materials like cotton, flak, wool, silk etc. for his clothing with corresponding advances and enlargement in the respective industries like farming, textile etc. His shelters[1] increased in numbers, size and complexity and the purpose for which they were used also increased considerably. These advances in the activities of the early men prospered them to the extent that individuals with specialized knowledge in crafts like metal work (gold, silver, copper, nickel, lead[2] etc.), carpentry, chariot—making, textile, pottery[3] and sculpture could give attention to these crafts without attending to the food-cultivation for their sustenance. Man could find time for philosophical speculations and for the consequent development of complex sacrificial rituals. This further led to the advancement of such subjects like mathematics, geometry, astronomy[4] etc. The leaders of these craft-groups were superior in artistic and technical skills. Those who were outstanding leaders in the craft of battle became kings and those in scientific subjects and philosophy turned to priesthood. The king wanted to expand territory under his control and the priests wanted to manage the conquered countries and extract maximum advantages and worldly

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as well as heavenly (by way of sacrifices) riches from the exploits of the king. The incidence of Dāśarājñya battle, help of Vaśiṣṭha to King Sudāsa in conquering the final battle and his getting the purohitship of Sudāsa is a very eminent example in this respect. The expansion of conquered terrritories on one hand the ever-increasing complexities of sacrificial ritual on the other hand were successful largely because of superior management technique and planning by the successful kings and their priests.

These leaders of temporal and priestly class planned trade routes (river and sea routes as well as roadways) not only across the country but beyond the borders of their territory to Sumer, Egypt Chaldea etc. They organised the work of labourers, artisans, soldiers and traders which helped construction of palatial houses, large towns and cities, *stūpas*,[1] conquering of large part of the country (*Sārvabhaumatva*) along with different types of sacrifices and flourishing the country with profitable trade.

To facilitate their management work and keep account of their stewardship, they found it necessary to invent means of notation and of writing. Next a system of terminology was established in every field to describe duties and positions, say as is given in Śrautasūtras with special reference to sacrificial ritual, With the development of arts and different sciences along with the advances and complexities of sacrificial ritual, jargon for each science (mathematics, geometry, astronomy etc.) was also necessarily developed, All this rapid and logical growth, particularly of sacrificiai ritual is because of proper management system along with sound organisation that was evolved at that time.

Managerial Activities for a Complex Sacrifice :

Fayol's analysis of the process of management could be aptly applied to the activities required for performing a complex sacrifice, say like a Soma sacrifice with constrution of a *citi* (*Sa-Citika Soma-Yāga*) (See chart at the end).

1. *Technical Activities :*

Construction and maintenance of trade routes and routes meant for fighting successful battles; development and protection of guilds of craftsmen like metal workers (goldsmith,[5] coppersmith,[6] ironsmith[7] etc.), carpenters,[8] potters[9] leatherworkers,[10] masons,[11] weavers,[12] musical instrument makers[13] etc, are some of the activities.

Building of houses and accomodation facilities of invited kings, distinguished guests, scholars and others.[14]

2. *Commercial Activities :*

Buying, selling exchange of precious metals, pearls, gems, ivory, building materials and other precious materials like soma creeper etc. required for sacrifice.

3. *Financial Activities :*

Collection of taxes from the king brought under subjugation for the purpose of providing funds necessary for performing a sacrifice. Conquering of Bhārata in all directions by the four Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna, Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva for performing *Rājasuya* sacrifice and collection of taxes from different kings is the best example of this aspect. This activity also includes economical and optimum use of capital.

4. *Security Activities :*

Protection of the king/sacrificer, priests, invited kings, distinguished guests, scholars, sanctity of sacrificial ground as well as of the large amount of different materials for use in the sacrifice is includied in these activities.

5. *Accounting Activities :*

Stock-taking of materials, grains, victuals in stores, keeping accounts of receipt of funds and expenditure for each and every item.

6. *Managerial (Administrative) Activities :*

Planning, organisation, motivation and co-ordination are the main activities of management. These are dealt with afterwards.

Social Activities :

There are certain social activities in relation to different sacrifices that also should be taken note of.

(a) Education in sacrificial ritual—The king has to maintain a school where detailed sacrificial rituals of different types of sacrifices are taught. He has to develop a competent faculty and attract intelligent students, he may find for this purpose, as the aim of sacrifices is not less than gaining of heavenly abode for one self as also for one's ancestors, in life here-in-after. The activities of priests of different ascentions along these of their assistants are thoroughly compartmentalized and must be learnt by heart.

(b) Distribution of money among scholars during sacrifices so that apart from their daily sustenance, scholars; may live with proper status. This consists of a managerial duty to search, find, judge the state of scholarhood and make payment in a from acceptable to that learned Ācārya. The story of king Janaka and Yādjñavalkya regarding selection of a Brahmiṣṭha priest given in Bṛhadāraṇyako-paniṣad[15] may be cited for this purpose.

(c) Distribution of wealth assimilated by the king to the public in general, as was done by Emperor Harṣa every five years on the occasion of Viśvajit sacrifices.

Planning :

Planning is the process of thinking before doing. The managers, here the king and his *purohit*, have to plan the activity (say) of Rājasūya sacrifice much in advance because of its unwieldly assortment and collection of material things. The planning activity may vary from searching a suitable plot of land of proper orientation and inclination to that of an India-wide victory compaign and collection of taxes from kings brought under domination. The planning process may be broadly divided into the factors like : (a) forecasting; (b) objectives, (c) policies, (d) programmes, (e) schedules, (f) procedures, and (g) budget.

The work of forecasting consists not only of material requirement for a sacrifice[16] but also of the celestial and philosophical nature. Forescasting regarding the formation and presence of auspicious combination of stars and constellations favourable to the king / sacrificer, which may lead to the successful completion of a given sacrifice and also in obtaining the desired objects is very important and for this purpose forecasting of locations of stars and constellations has special significance. The advancement of subjects like mathematics, astronomy and related ones to the standard so as to make accurate prognostication is imperative.

Objectives of the sacrificial activity are manifold. The mian objective of conducting a sacrifice is of course to achieve a comfortable life in other worlds, namely heaven or *Brahmaloka* or to possess large cattle or large amount of food.[17] But, there are many material advantages of conducting a sacrifice. The exhibition of pomp, wealth, strong arms of army and navy etc, during a sacrificial ceremony, are meant to impress the power of the sacrificing king one the neighbouring kings. This also helped to confirm the superiority of the sacrificer to his subjects and to the kings abroad. The sacrifice for coronation ceremon (*Rājasūya*) is the best example. Remember the innumerable reasons tha compelled Shivaji to perform a coronation ceremony so as to proclaim himsel an independent soveriegn of India (*Hindupadapātaśāha*). Minor objectives lik honouring scholars, providing enough work and incentive to craftsmen so as t help advancement of different crafts and other such social objectives were als thought of.

In order that the process of planning could be done smoothly without lac of proper knowledge, policy matters regarding delegation of authority to differer ministries (see chart) according to their capabilities are important. The autho ity of deciding the correct procedure of a given ritual is to be given to *Purohi* of the king. He will be responsible to the king regarding any matter abo correct performance of the sacrifice and solving any disputes about it. Oth departments like finance, foreign affairs, engineering etc. are made responsib for completing the tasks given to them. The heads of these ministers are responsible to the prime-minister. *Purohita* and prime-minister are responsible to their king.

A programme is a sequence of activities designed to implement policies and ccomplish objectives. Complexity of rituals makes programming imperative. n order to get an idea of the complex nature of sacrifice, one may consider ome of the important sacrifices that are required to be performed for Rājasūya acrifice (Kāt. Śr. S. 15)

(a) Cāturmāsya in the last months of the year, (b) Soma sacrifice, c) two Paśubandhas, (d) Soma sacrifice called Atirātra, (e) four Soma acrifices, (f) Vyuṣṭi-dvirātra sacrifice, (g) Agnistoma and Atirātṛa, (h) gniṣṭoma called Kṣatradhṛti, (i) Tristoma, Jyotiṣṭoma and Agniṣṭoma each n two numbers i.e. before and after the sacrifices given in (h, i, j) Sautrāmani, k) Paśubandha etc.

Quite a detailed and accurate programming schedule has to be prepared ven for conducting a single Soma sacrifice. In case of Rājasuya sacrifice, many ifferent types of Soma sacrifices are to be conducted with consideration of uspicious timings as well as their sequential performances. Importance of cheduling of programmes for this purpose could be easily understood. In fact, ll these varieties of sacrifices can not even be thought of unless the process of rogramming for them was perfected. It appears that only when the science f detailed scheduled programming was evolved then only such complicated crifices could be conducted.

Procedures prescribe the manner or method by which work is to be perrmed. Where the programme tells what is to be done, the procedure tells how. ritten procedures have many advantages. The process of preparing a procedure atement clearly designates the scope and nature of duties of each individual in e sacrificial ritual which avoids confusion. The duties of Adhvaryu, Hotā, rahmā, Brāhmaṇacchaṅsi and of other priests in a particular type of sacrifice e known to them in detail. Every act, nay every nuance of chanting of sacred ayers is rigidly fixed and every mistake has to be rectified by some corrective ethod (*prāyaścitta*). S'rautasūtras are written precisely for this purpose, that , to describe procedural details right from inviting *ṛtvijas* (*Ṛtvigvaraṇam*) to *vabhṛtha* bath and duties of different priests, of a given sacrifice. In addition, ualistic procedures (*prayoga paddhatis*) of each priest like Ādhvaryava, otrutva etc. were also prepared sacrifice-wise. The establishment of such iestwise procedures a standard for apprising work to be conducted or comted and thus serves as an effective control. These procedural details are very refully prepared and hence constitute a useful outline for training new priests. They help to reduce the time and expenses of job training an minimizes errors resulting from lack of information.

A budget is an estimate for use. The activities of a sacrifice are so larg in scope and it is such a costly proposition that budgetting and periodic financial stock-taking is a must. The chart at the end explains the variety activities in connection with a sacrifice. Pāṇḍavas with considerably deple treasury at the end of epic battle, when thought of conducting an *Aśvame* sacrifice had first to arrange for the funds necessary for conducting a sacrif Consideration of financial position in relation to the amount wailable expenditure for a sacrifice was always a prime factor while planning it.

Organisation :

Sound organisation is highly important as the foundation upon which t whole structure of management is built. In ancient time when sacrifice rit was developed and established at a very complex stage, most of the activiti which were essentially manual, were required to be conducted by coersion the use of authoritarian measures, although with humility, with accompany punishment. The organisation is required for very large and varied activit The *Ṛtvijas* are expected to conduct sacrifices according to a fixed proced and schedule. Any mistakes in carrying out these activities required correct measures called *prāyaścittas*. The fighting of battles and collection of taxes fr conquered kings again require a coersive authoritative and strict organisati The pattern of organisation seems to be a mixture of 'Herd' and 'Person person' concepts. Further from the description of duties assigned to differ priests, it seems that as far as organisation for the purpose of actual performa of sacrifice is concerned, it is functional rather than divisionalized. The nat of work and the numbers of persons employed for the purpose were also s that functional organisation was suitable for it.

Motivation :

This leads to the selection of properly skilled persons and appointing th to the right positions. The co-ordinator must make sure that the people selec for the organisation are compatible both with himself and with those whom t will work. To inspire and impel his people to achieve highest efficiency, co-ordinator provides for communication and participation. This aspect management must have been developed at the ancient time as without facility it is not possible to conduct so large and complex sacrifices smoot What we read in Ṛgveda is the praise of sacrificer by priests regarding paym of munificent fees to them in *dānastuti*.

Co-ordination :

Co-ordination between the works of different priests is the main task *purohita* whereas co-ordination of different ministries, with reference to perfo

ance of the sacrifice, is the managerial responsibility of the prime-minister.
Co-ordination means the materials and the required qualified personnel are
vailable when needed. Different activities proceding under their own scheduled
rogrammes are brought into phase so that they advance in timely sequance.
t further means the unification of all unrelated or diverse interests which
nust be brought together if purposeful work is to be accomplished effectively.

Purohita co-ordinates the works of Adhvaryu to that of Śāmitṛ and sees to
t that all the different priests are well-versed in their respective roles and each of
hem is given one's proper share of duties to perform. The materials required
y the priests should be made available to their required number, correct speci-
cations and at the required time. This very function of co-ordination has to
e performed by the prime-minister and heads of different ministries but on
uch large scale and of purely mundane matters, like provision of funds, their
ailability of the right amount at the right time etc.

emarks :

It may be noted from the above discussion that a large and complex
crifice like *Rājasūya* or *Vājapeya*, particularly when conducted on a grand scale
described in *Mahābhārata*[18] and as ascertained from Śrautasūtras of different
āryas, requires a very large organisation with many diversified activities and
rsons skilled in different aspects varying from manufacturing of bricks for
nstructing a *citi* to a highly skilled and all enveloping job of an Adhvaryu
ile performing a sacrifice. Management skills and methods have to be evolved
as to bring all these activities related to a sacrifice to a successful completion
ar in-year out, as these sacrifices are performed many times and they follow
e after another.

The very arrangement of Śrautasūtras gives a good idea of the management
areness in describing sacrificial ritual. In *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, the
uence is always first the list of materials required for a particular part of a
rifices, the list of *Ṛtvijas* if they are many in numbers, and then sequential
scription of different operations of that part of sacrifice. A very methodical
y indeed. All these observations lead to the conclusion that highly developed
nagerial skills were evolved during Vedic period so as to enable to perform a
ies of very complex and large sacrifices in a very methodical and smooth
nner, so that the sacrificer will feel the work well done and may be sure to
his desire, even of gaining heavenly abode fulfilled.

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dential areas of rich and powerful are found seperated from those of poor and
nials are given by Marshall. Seperate zones for granneries, baths, stupas

depending upon their functional utility were developed.—Marshall, J. *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I

2 हिरण्यं च मेऽयश्च मे श्यामं च मे
लोहं च मे सीसं च मे त्रपु च मे यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम् ॥ 18.13 ॥
वाजसनेयि शुक्लयजुर्वेद संहिता (1902). Publ. by Khemrajkrishnadas

3 नमस्तक्षभ्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः
कुलालेभ्यश्च कर्मारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमो
निषादेभ्यः पुञ्जिष्ठेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः श्वनिभ्यो मृगयुभ्यश्च वो नमः ॥ 16.27 ॥
वाजसनेयि शुक्लयजुर्वेदसंहिता (1902) Publ. by Khemraj Krishnadas

4 ॐ अधीहि भगव इति होपससाद सनत्कुमारं नारदस्त ꣳ होवाच यद्वेत्थ तेन मोपसी ततस्त ऊर्ध्वं वक्ष्यामीति स होवाच ॥ १ ॥ ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेद ꣳ सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थ मितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्य ꣳ राशिं दैवं निधिं वाकोवाक्यमेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मवि भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पदेवजनविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि ॥ 2 ॥
छान्दोग्योपनिषद् —अष्टाविंशत्युपनिषदः ॥ 1965 ॥

Editor, Swami Dwarikadas Shastri, Pablisher, Prachya Bharti Prakasha Varanasi.

5 A number of objects made of gold are mentioned in Śrautesūtras. I Vijapeya sacrifice all rtvijas wore golden necklaces and Hotā wore a golden necklace consisting of 100 golden lotuses and precious gems. (Ā. Śrs. 5.3.9.)

In Aś vamedha sacrifice Adhvaryu should sit on a golden seat (Ā. Śrs. 4.7) Publ. by Mysore Univ. as Oriental Library Publication No. 8/.

In Rajasūya sacrifice dices are made of gold.

6 The razor was made of copper (Tai. Br. 1.5.6 and 2.7.17) Publishe by Anandashram sanskrit Granthavali.

7 In a sacrifice called Odanasava ' plough share made of iorn is given a vaiśya (Tai. Br. 2.7.9)

In Darṣa iṣṭi, yoghurt is formed in the pot with iron lid. (Tai. Br. 3.2.3)

In Aśvamedha sacrifice marks on the horse to be killed are formed pinning needles of iron, silver and gold (Tai .Br. 3.9.6)

In Aśvamedha sacrifice at the time of offering, called a Śarīra, the thi offering should be given from a Kamandalu made of iron (Tai. Br. 3.9.11)

8 Carpenter makes a cot, a swing, also a chair called Āsandi which a required to construct different sacrifices. Carpenter is required to construct differe maṇḍapas like Prāgvaṁśa. Sadas, Havirdhāna, Āgnidhra etc. in Soma sacrific He fabricates yūpas of different heights, wooden pots (Saṁgrahas) etc..

9 A potter prepares earthen wares like pots of different shapes, Ukh Mahāvira, pots for pravargya etc.

10 Shoes made of deer skin should be worn by Adhvaryu, sacrificer and others, while arranging bricks for laying a Śyena citi (B. Śr. S. 10.37), Ed.- Caland, W. Publ.-Asiatic Soc. Calcutta

In Rājasūya sacrifice shoes made of skin of a boar are used (Tai Br. 17.9). Deer skin is mentioned frequently in Śrautasūtras.

11 Mason is required to construct citis with bricks of different shapes.

12 Musical instruments of different-types are mentioned say Vīṇā, (Tai Br. 3.9.14). Vāṇa. (Ṛgveda 1.85-10, Tai. Br. 7.5.9) etc.

In Sāmaveda Vīṇā called Alābū, Vakrā, Kapiśīrṣi, Mahā and Sītā Vīṇās are mentioned. Vīṇās called Kāṇḍa and Picchorā are mentioned (Lat. Śr. S. 4.2.8).

A flute called ' Nāli, is mentioned in Ṛgveda (10.135.7). Another flute ' Tūṇava ' is mentioned in Tai. Br. (3.4.14). Seventeen drums (dundubhis) are required for Vājapeya sacrifice (B. Sr. S. 11.1)

13. A newly weaved cloth is called ' Tasara ' (Tai. Br. 2.6.4) In Tai. Saṁhita (6.11) information on weaving of clothes is given.

Yūpa is clothed in Vājapeya sacrifice (Tai. Br. 1.3.7). In the ceremoney of establishment of socred fire (Agnyādhāna), sacrificer and his wife wear silk clothes. Woolen blankets are mentioned in Tai. Br. (2.6.4). During the singing of Sāmans in Agniṣṭoma sacrifice cloth of flak is mentioned.

14 Mahābhārata 2-30-37-38 and 2.31-17-24 give the preparations that Dharmarāja made prior to the performance of Rājasūya sacrifice.

15 जनको हे वैदहो बहुदक्षिणेन यज्ञेनेजे तत्र ह कुरुपाञ्चालानां ब्राह्मणा अभिसमेता भूवु तस्य ह जनकस्य वैदेहस्य बिजिज्ञासा बभूवः कः स्विदेषां ब्राह्मणानानूचानतम इति स ह गवाँ हस्रमवरुरोध दश दश पादा एकैकस्याः श्रृङ्गयोराबद्धा बभूवुः ॥ 3.1 ॥ ान्सोवाच ब्राह्मणा भगवन्तो यो वो ब्राह्मिष्ठः स एता गा उदजतामिति... ॥ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद ॥ 3.2 । – ष्टाविंशत्युपनिषदः (1965) Ed. by Swami Dwarikadas Shastri. Publ. by Prachya Bharati Prakashan, Varanasi.

16 अग्निष्टोमेन यक्ष्यमाणो भवति । स उपकल्पयते कृष्णाजिनं च कृष्णविषाणां च वामश्च खलां च सैषा पृथ्वी वेणीकायां भवति त्रिवृदेकतः पाशा द्वाविंꣳशतिं च दर्भपुञ्जीलानि...... मृन्मयश्च ात्रः शङ्कुश्च स्थाली सशिक्या समेक्षणा । जुष्टे देवयजने शाला कारिता भवति । तदुदकुम्भौ..... ... नधापयत्यथामावास्येन वा हविषेष्ट्वा नक्षत्रे वारण्योरग्नीम्समारोह्य........

A list of meterials required in a part of Agniṣṭoma sacrifice as given in B. r. 'S 6.1 could give a good idea.

17 अथ वै भवति श्येनचितं चिन्वीत स्वर्गकाम इति ।
कूर्मचितं चिन्वीत यः कामयेत ब्रह्मलेकमभिजयेमिति विज्ञायते ।
द्रोणचितं चिन्वीत अन्नकाम इति विज्ञायते ।
संग्रह्य चिन्वीत पशुकाम इति विज्ञायते ॥

18 ततो ययौ भीमसेनः प्राज्ञैः स्थपतिभिः सह ।
ब्राह्मणानग्रतः कृत्वा कुशलान्यज्ञकर्मसु ॥ 14.86.11 ॥
तं सशालचयग्रामं संप्रतोलीविटङ्किनम् ।
मापयामास कौरव्यो यज्ञवाटं यथाविधि ॥ 12 ॥
सदः सपत्नीसदनं साग्नीध्रमपि चोत्तरम् ।
कारयामास विधिवन्मणिहेमविभूषितम् ॥ 13 ॥
स्तम्भान्कनकचित्रांश्च तोरणानि बृहन्ति च ।
यज्ञायतनदेशेषु दत्त्वा शुद्धं च काञ्चनम् ॥ 14 ॥
अन्तःपुराणि राज्ञां च नानादेशनिवासिनाम् ।
कारयामास धर्मात्मा तत्र तत्र यथाविधि ॥ 15 ॥
ब्राह्मणानां च वेश्मानि नानादेशसमेयुषाम् ।
कारयामास भीमः स विविधानि ह्यनेकशः ॥ 16 ॥
ततः कृत्वा स्थपतयः शिल्पिनोऽन्ये च ये तदा ।
कृत्स्नं यज्ञविधिं राजन्धर्मराज्ञे न्यवेदयत् ॥ 14.86.25 ॥

Āśvamedhika Parva, *Mahabharaṭ* (vol. 14)— Bhandarkar Edition Publ. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

VĀLMĪKI'S SKILL IN THE DELINEATION OF SENTIMENTS*

By

B. N. BHATT†

An epigrammatic stanza quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*[1] as from the pen of Bhartṛhari eulogizes the poet laureates as follows :

Jayanti te sukṛtino rasasiddhāḥ Kavīśvarāḥ |
Nāsti Yeṣāṁ Yeśaḥkāye Jarāmaraṇajaṁ Bhayaṁ ||

" Victorious are those poet laureates who are adepts in the delineation of sentiments and who are the authors of good works as there is no fear arising from old age and death in their body constituted of fame ".

As a consummate literary artist sage Vālmīki has shown extraordinary skill in the delineation of sentiments in the *Ādikāvya*. All the eight sentiments acknowledged afterwards in the works on rhetorics viz. *Hāsya*, *Śṛṅgāra*, *Karuṇa*, *Raudra*, *Vīra*, *Bhayānaka*, *Bībhatsa* and *Adbhuta* are found well developed in the epic by the sage. Not only that but the sage has been able to heighten, to solidify, to reiterate, to transform and to intermingle the sentiments in an artistic manner. We shall throw a searching glance towards the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rm.) in order to find out pertinent instances.

As regards the main sentiment of the Rm. it is very difficult to say anything for certain. According to the popular opinion the main sentiment is *Vīra* or the heroic, while according to the opinion of some scholars the main sentiment is *Karuṇa*[2] or pathos. These two sentiments vie with each other for supermacy from the beginning to the end. The claim of the heroic sentiment to be considered as the main sentiment of this epic appears to be sound at first sight since it is usual that only great heroic deeds were considered worth eulogizing and remembering for future generations, of a nation. The purpose behind was to solidify national integrity and to remind the people about the great heritage

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[1] Edited by Parab K. P., Seventh edition, revised by Paṇśikar Wasudev, Lakṣmaṇ Śāstrī, Published by The Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1935, p. 32/1.

[2] Vide Dhvanyāloka Second ed., edited by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-7, 1982, IV. 5, p. 274.

inherited by them. The Vālmīki Rm. not only eulogizes and perpetuates the victory of Rāma over Rāvaṇa (i e. the victory of *Dharma* over *Adharma*) but it also describes the protection, the well being as well as the expansion of the kingdom ruled over by the sovereign Rāma. Thus in consonance with the definition of an epic Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* exhibits itself to be a long poem in elevated style narrating the exploits of a hero (*puruṣa-uttama*). Thus as it is said in the epic itself it describes *Rāmasya Caritaṃ Sarvaṃ* (I. 2.3^c Crit. ed.).

On the other hand, it is also stated in the epic that the whole of it is the great i.e.[3] extraordinary behaviour of Sītā. The sufferings of Sitā extend over the largest part of the epic and constantly give rise to the sentiment of Pathos. There is a fine intermingling of the two sentiments viz. the heroic sentiment as revealed by the exploits of Rāma and his allies and the sentiment of pathos as revealed mainly by the behaviour of Sītā. It also shows that even though Sītā who was a wife of Rāma, the best of men and was under his able protection had to undergo unthinkable sufferings in order to cooperate in the great cause of the removal of the sufferings of gods and of the earth and of the captive women of gods etc. by hastening the destruction of Rāvaṇa. In order to participate in the task of protecting the gods, the earth and the captive[4] women of gods in Laṇkā, Sītā herself had to undergo the woes of wandering in the forests and staying in the Aśoka grove in Laṅkā as a captive for about one year. This shows Sītā's great compassion especially for the captive women of gods etc.

Sītā's long stay in Rāvaṇa's Aśoka garden was necessary for bringing about the destruction of the strength of austerities of Rāvaṇa. As a result it would be possible for Rāma to kill him. This is the view held by the prolific writer and a solely devoted devotee of Lord Śiva, viz. Appayya Dīkṣita in his [5] *Rāmāyaṇa-sārasaṁgrahavivaraṇa*. This is a convincing reason advanced by Appayya Dīkṣita for Sītā's stay for long in the house of Rāvaṇa. This separation of his beloved wife created boundless pathos in the mind of Rāma and thus the pangs of separation of Rāma and Sītā intensify the sentiment of pathos. Sītā's final abandonment in the forest through the agency of Lakṣmaṇa when the was carrying accelerates the sentiment of pathos further until it reaches its acme in her[6] oath taking and finally entering into the lap of mother earth. With the abandonment of Lakṣmaṇa, the sentiment of pathos intensified itself to such an extent that it became unbearable for Rāma to continue his earthly existence any more.

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[3] Cf. काव्यं रामायणं कृत्स्नं सीतायाश्चरितं महत् ।
पौलस्त्यवधमित्येव चकार चरितव्रतः ॥ I. 4.6. (crit. ed.)

[4] Vide the article entitled "Śrīrāmāyaṇa-rahasya" by Shri 1008 Śrī Anantācārya Swāmijī Mahārāja which appeared in the *Rāmāyaṇāṅka* of Kalyāṇa, July, 1930, P. 25.

[5] Cf. ननु परमेश्वरः किमर्थं रावणगृहे संवत्सरं सीतां वासयितुं संकल्पयामासेति । ....
तत्तपोवीर्यभ्रंशश्च चिरं तत्र सीतावासेनैव लभ्यते । तद्वासे हि तस्यां निरन्तरं मोहितात्मा सर्वं तपस्त्यजेत् । तदानीं रघुनाथेन हन्तुं शक्या भवति नान्यथेति ।
cited from the manuscript of the said work belonging to the Oriental Institute, Baorda, Acc. No. 6513, P. 23, ll. 6 and 8-10. Vide also the present writers "An Analysis of the Rāmāyaṇasārasaṁgrahavivaraṇa of Appayya Dīkṣita", Journal of *The Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec., 1982, PP. 156-157.

Thus Vālmiki's Rm. is an apt illustration of the dictum, "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of sadest thoughts." Thus the sentiment of pathos becomes the main sentiment affording the foundation to the whole edifice in the form of Vālmīki's Rm. (V. Rm.).

According to the opinion of Dr J. K. Trikha, a note of tranquillity is struck by the poet in declaring the satisfaction in the creator's mind at the fulfilment of the divine purpose after the frowned agitation in Nature at Sītā's abduction by Rāvaṇa. He continues :—"The appearance of the Divine Brahmā and Maheś-vara, at the time of Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa to shower the ambrosia of tranquillity and to disclose that destiny of human race had been fulfilled as it was ordained in the eternal scheme of things. This is the perennial stream of "Shanta-Rasa" or tranquillity which the great epic of Rāmāyaṇa is bringing near every man to bathe in it or to drink from it. Every character, episode or crisis contributes to this perennial stream in the Rāmāyaṇa[7]".

As already observed before the sentiment of heroism pervades a very large portion of the Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* narrates the killing of a male heron (*Krauñcavadha*) and the lamentations of the female heron which roused compassion in the heart of Vālmīki as a result a curse in the form of a *śloka*[8] was pronounced by the sage spontaneously. This incident arousing pathos serves as a *Bījanikṣepa* i.e. sowing the seed for the epic narration of Rāma's exploits. Lord Brahmā's sudden appearance before Vālmīki and His commanding him to compose the epic in the same *śloka* metre arouse the sentiment of wonder which mitigates the pathetic feeling. The bringing of Ṛśyaśṛṅga[9] by the harlots to the capital of the Aṅga country of Romapāda gives rise to the erotic sentiment intermingled with the sentiment of wonder. The appearance of a divine *puruṣa* with *Pāyasa* from the altar of the Putreṣṭi sacrifice gives rise to the sentiment of wonder. Tāṭakāvadha and the destruction of Subāhu and other Rākṣasas arouse the sentiment of heroism. Ahalyā-uddhāra gives rise to the sentiment of wonder. *Dhanur-bhaṅga* at *Sītāsvayaṁvara* and the defeat of Paraśurāma give rise to the heroic sentiment.

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[6] Cf. यथाहं राघवादन्यं मनसापि न चिन्तये । तथा मे माधवी देवी विवरं दातुमर्हति ॥
मनसा कर्मणा वाचा यथा रामं समर्चये । तथा मे माधवी देवी विवरं दातुमर्हति ॥
यथैतत् सत्यमुक्तं मे वेद्मि रामात् परं न च । तथा मे माधवी देवी विवरं दातुमर्हति ॥
VII. 88.10. and 1372* (Crit. ed.)

[7] Vide (Dr.) Trikha J. K., *A Study of The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7, 1981, P. 167. Dr. Trikha's observation is correct by implication, but in The V. Rm. the *Śānta rasa* and The *Adbhuta rasa* have found a clear mention in the Northern Recension (cf. I. 203 * ll. 15-16 crit. ed.). In the Southern Recension they are not mentioned perhaps with the idea that they are included in the word Ādi in I. 4.8c.

[8] मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत्क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥ I. 2.14 (crit. ed.)

The whole of *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* is permeated with the sentiment of pathos as it is full of lamentations of king Daśaratha, of Kausalyā of Sītā, of Lakṣmaṇa, of the ladies of the harem, of the citizens of Ayodhyā and of the ladies of Ayodhyā on different occasions as a result of the frustration of Rāma's coronation.

In order to lessen the spirit of utter dejection consequent on their lamentations sage Vālmīki, as befits a true artist, has introduced the incident of the brahmin Trijaṭa which gives a little relief to the mental depression for a while by arousing the sentiment of mirth.

Daśaratha's narrating the incident of *Munikumāravadha* and the lamentations of his parents to Kausalyā makes the pathetic sentiment reach its zenith. The subsequent event of the lamentations of Daśaratha, his death, the lamentations of the queens of the harem, of Bharata on his arrival from Rājagṛha, the swoon of Bharata and the miseries of Śatrughna, Guha and the mothers on that account maintain the acme of the sentiment of pathos.

The divine hospitality accorded to Bharata along with his army by sage Bharadvāja gives rise to the sentiment of wonder and affords some respite for a short while.

On hearing about the death of his father Daśaratha from the mouth of Bharata, Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa start their wailing and then offer libations to Daśaratha after bathing. Again the atmosphere is filled with the sentiment of pathos. On his return to Ayodhyā Bharata finds himself overcome by grief at the bad condition of the city.

The killing of the demon Virādha by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in a combat with him rouses the sentiment of heroism. The vision of Indra along with gods by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the hermitage of sage Śarabhaṅga and the sage's attaining *Brahmaloka* give rise to the sentiment of wonder, which is strengthened by their approaching a lake called Pañcāpsaras from which the sound of the musical instruments and that of the songs and ornaments of the nymphs was continuously heard.

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[9] Vide I. 9 (Crit. ed.)

The dialogue of Śūrpaṇakhā with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa gives rise to the sentiment of mirth, while Lakṣmaṇa's chopping off her ears and nose strengthen the sentiment of loathsomeness already created by her ugly physique.

The sentiment of wrath or furiousness reaches its acme when Rāma, single handed, uprooted all the fourteen thosand Rākṣasas along with Dūṣaṇa, Triśirā and Khara in the Janasthāna.

Sītā's lamentations on her abduction by Rāvaṇa rouse the sentiment of pathos that is accelerated by the assassination of Jaṭāyu by Rāvaṇa.

Indra's entering Laṅkā along with the goddess of sleep at the behest of Lord Brahmā and His giving divine food for oblation to Sītā give rise to the sentiment of wonder. However this is found in an interpolated *Sarga.*

The wanderings in the forest again on the part of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in search of Sītā and Rāma's lamentations for her loss give rise to the sentiment of pathos. The same sentiment is intensified by the poet when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa come to the place where Jaṭāyu is lying wounded and after telling that it was Rāvaṇa who kidnapped Sītā and inflicted deadly wounds on him died in the lap of Rāma.

The incident of the behaviour of Ayomukhī rouses the sentiment of loathsomeness The vision of the body of Kabandha gives rise to the sentiment of loathsomeness while his catching Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in his long arms created the sentiment or terror. The sentiment of heroism comes to the forefront when in the encounter with Kabandha, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa cut off his two arms with swords. As requested by the dying Kabandha Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa burn his body on the funeral pyre whereupon he gains a divine form and advises Rāma to make friendship with Sugrīva who would help him in the search of Sītā. Thus the sentiment of wonder is aroused.

The fight between Vālī and Sugrīva and falling down of Vālī pierced in the chest by the arrow of Rāma generate the sentiment of heroism. The lamentations of Tārā and Sugrīva give rise to the sentiment of pathos. During their search for Sītā the monkeys led by Aṅgada and Hanumat enter the cave of Svayaṁprabhā who provides them food and drinks and brings them out of the cave on the sea coast. This incident gives rise to the sentiment of wonder.

Sampāti comes to know about the death of Jaṭāyu from the talk of the Vānaras and is drawned in grief which creates the sentiment of pathos. Sampāti informs them about the place of residence of Rāvaṇa where they can find Sītā. Sampāti thereafter gets fresh plumage and being overjoyed he inspires the Vānaras to carry on their mission and flies away giving rise to the sentiment of wonder.

Hanumat's crossing the sea by taking a long jump, and his inflicting a defeat on Surasā and his killing Siṁhikā arouse the sentiment of heroism that is heightened by his defeating the presiding deity of Laṅkā.

Sītā's lamentations at the time of rejecting the advice of the demonesses to accept Rāvaṇa as her husband give rise to the sentiment of intense pathos. But the description of the dream of Trijaṭā arouses the sentiment of wonder. It also suggests the victory of Rāma and lessens the mental agony by inspiring hope. The heroic exploits of Hanumat e.g. the destruction of the Aśoka garden, the killing of the Kiṁkaras, the destruction of the *Caityaprāsāda* i.e. the building of the sanctuary and its guards, the killing of Jambumālin, of the seven sons of the ministers, of the five army commanders of Rāvaṇa, of the prince Akṣa, the son of Rāvaṇa, and his fight with Indrajit during which he was bound by the divine weapon of Indrajit give rise to the heroic sentiment which reaches its acme on Hanumat's burning Laṅkā and on his arriving back to meet Aṅgada and others by taking a jump over the Sea again.

The marching of the Vānara army led by Rāma, the agitation of the Ocean on Rāma's placing an arrow on the bow and his appearing in person before Rāma, the construction of a bridge over the Sea and crossing it by the Vānara army and arranging the army in military array by Lakṣmaṇa arouse the sentiment of heroism. Rāvaṇa brings before Sītā Rāma's cut off head created by magic. Consequent lamentations of Sītā give rise to the sentiment of pathos. The description of many combats between the warriors on both the sides near Laṅka till the death of Rāvaṇa strengthen the sentiment of heroism.

The lamentations of Vibhīṣaṇa, of Mandodarī and of other women of Rāvaṇa on his death generate the sentiment of pathos. The same sentiment reaches its acme when Rāma raises a doubt about the chastity of Sītā in the presence of all the Vānaras as a result she enters into the funeral pyre wherefrom Lord Agni manifests himself and declares that the chastity of Sītā is untainted. This testimony of Lord Agni and the appearance of all gods and of king Daśaratha before the gathering and Indra's enlivening the dead monkeys rouse the sentiment of wonder.

The lamentations of Sītā when she comes to know from Laṣmaṇa about her abandonment in the forest by Rāma give rise to the sentiment of pathos. The killing of Lavaṇāsura of Madhurā in a combat by Śatrughna rouses the sentiment of heroism. The oath taking of Sītā arouses the sentiment of pathos as also the abandonment of Lakṣmaṇa as noted earlier. The incident of the destruction of the Gandharvas by Bharata which is an intermediate incident between the earlier two incidents also gives rise to the heroic sentiment. All the sentiments ultimately converge into tranquillity.

ROLE OF THE CONCURRENT CULTURES IN THE CULTURAL MAKE-UP OF THE *RĀMĀYAṆA* AGE

By

LAVA KUSH PRASAD DWIVEDI*

A thorough study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* reveals a well-developed culture characterised by certain traditions, beliefs and a value system. Though the culture reflected in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is undoubtedly Vedic in origin yet there can be no denial of the fact that elements of other concurrent cultures also played an important role in its formation. Despite its great emphasis on the *varṇa*-system, the *Rāmāyaṇa* amply exhibits communities living beyond this system. The impact of the interaction of these out-of-*varṇa*-system communities with those of *varṇa* society is manifest in the form of the relationship of the heroes of the text with their sympathetic attitude towards women, higher ethical standards than those of the later Vedic age and the emergence of Puranic rites and customs side by side with these innovations. Vedic orthodoxy still prevailed. This process of intermingling underscores the role of the elements of the concurrent local cultures in the formation of standard culture of the *Rāmāyaṇa* age. The present paper is an attempt to high light this dimension of the process of accultaration reflected in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Originally, the *Rāmāyaṇa* culture is not much different from that of the Vedic age yet a comparative study of the two would reveal some peculiarities in the former which would have been borrowed from other concurrent cultures. The main features of the Vedic culture reflected in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are as follows: dominance of Brāhmaṇas ard Priests in the society, hospitality as an obligation, relatively higher status of women, prevalence of sacrificial rites etc.

To popularise Vedic ideals among the non-Vedic people, Vālmīki tried to paint the characters of his Epic as the ardent devotees of the Vedic values but probably the proclamation of the superiority of the Vedic culture alone would not have made it popular and acceptable to the non-Vedic people. The real challenge before the poet would have been that of the adjustment of the Vedic traditions with the actual social condition of the age, an idea of which can be formed by locating such cultural peculiarities as are reflected in the *Rāmāyaṇa*

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but have no Vedic roots. Limited prevalence of the *āśrama* system in the society,[1] formulation of the theory of *Puruṣārthas*, growth of Puranic legends, beliefs in the efficacy of the curses of gods and sages, popularity of *śrāddha*, *vrata*, and *tīrtha* rites, shift in objectives of the performance of the age old sacrifices like Aśvamedha, unpopularity of *niyoga*, presence of some rudiment of purdah system,[2] emergence of the rigidity of caste, the gradual transformation of Pantheon illustrate some of tendencies of the ongoing process of accultaration reflected in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Highly entrenched notion of *Varṇa vyavasthā* with the privileges of the Brāhmaṇas in it and the respectable place assigned to the priests in the society[3] of the *Rāmāyaṇa* age may be said to owe their per-eminence to the influence of the political and religious circumstances of the time. It may be safely assumed that Buddhism attained its greatest expansion prior to the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which is generally placed between C. 200 B.C. to 200 A D. Needless to say that communities persisting outside the role of Vedic culture paved congenial ground for Buddhism. Owing to this phenomenal success of Buddhists, traditional Vedic culture (which may be now named as Brahmana culture) would have received a setback when an attempt must have been made by the protagonists of the traditional Brahmanical culture to receive lost grounds after the fall of the royal patronage[4] that was withdrawn from Buddism. This tendency is reflected in Puśyamitra Śuṅga's attempt at Brahmanic revival,[5] Vālmīki also promoted the same by defending traditional ideals and values through his monumental Epic. The use of word ' Chor ' (Thief) for Buddha at one place in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[6] clearly indicates the contempt in which Buddhism was held by the followers of Brahmanism. It was probably in an attempt to win over non-Vedic communities to the resurgent faith that some compromises were made in the process of emphasising and reformulating Vedic ideals, *āśramas* and *Puruṣārtha*.[7]

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[1] ' *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* ' (*V.R.*) Geetā Press, Gorakhpur, IIIrd Edition, V. S. 2033, 2. 106.22.

[2] De, S. C. : ' *The Historicity of Rāmāyaṇa and Indo-Āryan Society* ', Ajantā Publications, Delhi, Reprint 1976, Page 185.

[3] ' *V.R.* ' : 2.2.33; 2.72.44; 5.35.13.

[4] This view is also supported by Kāmil Bulke, See Bulke, K. : ' *Rāma Kathā* ', Lok Bhārati Prakāśan, Allāhābād, 1971, Page 101.

[5] In this regard we can see the references how Puśyamitra Śuṅga had announced a donation of hundred Dinārs on a śramaṇa head.

[6] ' *V.R.* ' : 2.109.34.

[7] *Ibid.* : 1.5.4. (In this connection R. S. Sharma says that Puruṣārtha was not renowned in the society before Post-Mauryan Age. See also Sharma, R. S. : ' *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India* ', Macmillan India Ltd., Delhi, Reprint 1985. Page 8.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* may therefore be regarded as a great contribution of Vālmīki in adopting traditional Brahmanical culture to the needs of the times.

We do not find any evidence regarding Caturāśrama-system in the Vedas but its clear-cut reference in the *Rāmāyaṇa* makes us look for the source from which Vālmīki might have taken it up. For the first time the system has been referred to in the *Dharmasūtras*,[8] though Kane tries to trace it back to the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[9] G. C. Pande thinks that the beginnings of this system cannot be taken earlier than the age of the Buddha.[10] The *āśrama* system must have grown as an attempt to reconcile the world-affirming philosophy of life to that of world-negation. As the śramaṇa tradition was known for its world-negating attitude, the *āśrama* system may be viewed to have grown in response to the culmination of that tradition in the form of Buddhism and Jainism. It is clear from the above discussion that in the cultural make-up of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the contribution of both the Vedic culture, and the non-Vedic concurrent cultures were of no small order.

A glance at the *Rāmāyaṇa* would reveal that Vālmīki was for establishing the ideal of single marriage, in the soil of polygamy which was prevalent from earlier times.[11] At the same time, he appears to have advocated the ideal of the chastity of women which illustrate through the character of Sītā.[12] This is again supported in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz., Lakṣmaṇa never dreamt of women inspite of not having his wife with him for a long duration of fourteen years. Not only this, he is further claimed to have never seen the face of Sītā whom he always regarded as his mother.[13] The rejection of the *praṇaya-nivedana* (marriage proposal) of Śūrpaṇakhā by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa[14] also strengthens the aforesaid view. This is sufficient in view of the trend of deterioration in the position of women since later Vedic age which did not allow her to participate in the sacrificial rites.[15] This tendency continued till the age of the Dharmasūtras.

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[8] '*Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* : 7.1.2.; '*Gautam Dharmasūtra*' 1.3.2.; '*Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*'; 2.1.21 1.

[9] Kane, P. V.; '*Dharmaśātra Kā Itihās*', Vol. I, (Tr. by A. C. Kaśyap) Hindi Sansthān, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, IIIrd Edition, 1980, Page 265.

[10] Pande, G. C. : '*Bauddha Dharma Ke Vikās Kā Itihās*', Printed by Bhārgava Bhūśan Press, Vārānasi, Hindi Samiti, Sūchanā Vibhāg, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, Ist Edition, 1963, Page 25-27.

[11] '*V.R.*' : 2.27.9; 2.30.19; 2.39.28-30; 2.64.43; 7.48.17-18; 7.99.7.

[12] *Ibid.* : 6.118.13-21.

[13] *Ibid.* : 4.6.23; 7.48.21-22.

[14] *Ibid.* : 3.18-2-21.

[15] '*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*' : 6.5.8.2.

The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* very clearly states that one partaking meals with a woman, becomes a man of condemnable character.[16] Here it is important to note that all these ideals and values were respected in the Aryan society despite its assimilation of some of the elements of non-Vedic Aryan culture. Vālmīki also tried to establish these high ideals even among the non-aryans by demonstrating their superiority through the example character of his heroes. Thus Rāma's ostensity shown to have killed Bali for his abominable moral lapse of having an evil-eye on one's younger brother's wife.[17]

The foregoing examples of attempting a sort of moral reform in the society of his age by Vālmīki beg the question what forced him to undertake the task of establishing these moral ideals in preference to the traditionally persisting customs and practices ? To answer this question we may point out that according to the *Mahābhārata* promiscuity of women prevailed among all the varṇas.[18] To offer one's wife to one's guest was such a wretched custom which a son like Śvetaketu could no longer ignore. Recognition of the legal rights of the Kṣetraja sons in the Dharmasūtra literature[19] also support the customary promiscuity even of married women. It is most probable that the poet's attempts to formulate the higher ideal of the chastity of both, wife and husband would have been a result of his reaction against prevailing traditional promiscuity in the society no matter even of non-aryans. This is perhaps why we do not find any reference to '*niyoga*' in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[20] It is significant that references to '*niyoga*' are found in the Nārada Smṛti (4th C.A.D.)[21] so we may hardly put any doubt regarding its prevalance in the Rāmāyaṇa age[22] yet the lack of clear-cut reference to it and its non-inclusion in the recognised social and moral ideals is notable.

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[16] '*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*' : 1.1.19.

[17] '*V.R.*' : 4.18.4-35; 4.18.18-20.

[18] '*Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*' : 2.13.7; '*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* : 2.3.34; '*Bṛhaspati Smṛti*' : 2.30 J. J. Meyer wanted to prove that promiscuity among women still prevailed from Vedic Age. See Meyer, J. J. : '*Sexual life in Ancient India*', London, 1930. But Jolly does not agree with this view. See also Jolly, J. : '*Hindu Law and Customs*' Calcutta, 1928, Page 106, Foot Note No. 2.

[19] Legal rights to Kshetraja Sons are also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kaṭuilya. See '*Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*', 3.6.

[20] S. N. Vyas also accepts the absence of 'Niyoga' system in the Rāmāyaṇa Age. See, Vyas, S. N. : '*Rāmāyaṇakālīna Samāj*', Delhi, 1958, Page 180.

[21] '*Nārada Smṛti*' : 8-83; 84-85.

[22] Meyer, J. J. : *op. cit.*

In connection with the role of Dharmasūtra culture in the formation of the culture of the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it would not be irrelevant to say that the age old custom of offering oblation to ancestors (*Śrāddha*) is clearly mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This custom figures for the first time as referred to in the Dharmasūtras.[23] Earlier than this, references to oblation has been found in pre-Dharmasūtra texts[24] but the word '*śrāddha*' is nowhere mentioned in these sources. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we find this custom in its developing form bringing peace to the soul of the ancestor[25] and if the *śrāddha* is performed in the Gayā Tīrth, the soul would go to the heaven directly. The hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is shown as performing rites of *śrāddha* after the death of his father.[26] References to *śrāddha* on the deaths of their brothers, Bāli and Jaṭāyu respectively are further examples of performance of *śrāddha* at the time.[27] The mention of '*śrāddha bhoja*' in the didactic passages of the text and references to *tarpaṇa, jalāñjali, piṇḍadāna* and fast in passing into it show that *śrāddha* was still a developing custom and had yet to acquire its well developed form.

The culture of the *Rāmāyaṇa* age appears to have received the impact of the concurrent cultures also in respect of the performance of sacrifices, *vratas*, rituals, *tapasyā* etc. A number of references to *Yajña* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[28] indicate the widespread popularity among the aryans but a change in the objectives of these sacrifices is also noticeable. The objective of Aśvamedha sacrifice was very much different from that in the earlier times. These sacrifices, which were earlier performed for obtaining political distinction had now become important means of fulfilling personal desires. In order to secure his desire to get a son, Daśaratha is shown to have performed Aśvamedha *yajña*[29] as the result of which he got four sons. Similar unconventional objectives are also seen behind the *yajña*s performed by Rāma.[30]

It is significant, in this context to notice how the mentality of personal upliftment played a vital role in increasing the importance of *Vrata*s, *tapas* and rituals in an age reflected in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is interesting to find how to get rid of a curse, to achieve the desired end and also sometimes to attain '*mokṣa*' people were performing these *vratas tapas* and *yajña*s in the narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[31]

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[23] Kaṇe, P. V. : *op. cit.*, Vol. III, *Śrāddha Prakaraṇa*
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] '*V.R.*' 2.61.12; 2.77.1-2; 2.108.15.
[26] *Ibid.* : 2.103.25-30.
[27] *Ibid.* : 1.41.15; 4.24. 52, 4.58.35-37.
[28] *Ibid.* : 1.5.27-33.
[29] *Ibid.* : 1.8.2-9; 1.14.60; 2.14.2.
[30] *Ibid.* : 7.84.2-3.
[31] *Ibid.* : 1.48.9.

The importance of *tīrtha*s was by no means less in this age. Kane, in his famous work has compiled a long list of *tīrtha*s from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[32] Though we find stray references to the sacredness of some important places and rivers even in the Vedas[33] yet we do not find any clear-cut reference to the term '*Tīrtha*' in them. Even in the age of Dharmasūtras, *tīrtha*s had not been given any importance yet reference to *tīrtha*s occurring several times in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an indicator to the rising popularity of this institution. One may ask why these new developments such as change in the objectives of the *yajña*s, increase in the popularity of rituals, *vrata*s and *tīrtha*s were taking place in the society of the *Rāmāyaṇa* age ? In their attempts to answer this question, scholars, after a thorough analysis of historical situations of that age, have underlined the irrelevance of Vedic *Karmakāṇḍa* in a changing perspective of Polity, Economy, Society and Religion. The puranic movement has been conceived as an alternative of the ritual lore.[34] Actually, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was also a link of the chain of this movement.

Vedic gods such as Indra and Varuna have been referred to several times in the *Rāmāyaṇa* but their full-fledged puranic image was yet to appear.[35] The increasing importance of Viṣṇu in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[36] denotes the Puranic bias of its pantheon.[37] In spite of his attempts to synthesise the elements of other concurrent cultures of the later Vedic period in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the Vedic values and traditions, the poet did not encourage the atheistic traditions, which were attacking Vedic tradition as a whole. One such example may be seen in the attitude of the poet towards the thinker of the Cārvāka School. The arguments of Jābāli establishing the materialistic point of view over the spiritual one in order to convince Rāma of the superiority of the value-neutral politics Rāma's reply to them shows that in spite of all the good elements of the concurrent cultures, Vālmīki had no intention to go too far in this direction. His love of the Vedic tradition was very natural. His attempt to accommodate certain non-Vedic elements in the changing orders of the traditional Vedic culture were circumscribed by the above attitude of the poet. He was not for an all out revolution against the Vedic heritage. His, was a wholistic synthetic approach reflected in every value and ideal he established.

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[32] *Ibid.* : 1.58.19; 1.59.4; 1.60.3-16.

[33] The clear-cut references to the holiness of the rivers are to be seen in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ('*V.R.*' : 2.55.20.21). See also Ghurye, G. S. : '*Vedic India*', Bombay, 1979, P. 64.

[34] Hazra, R. C. : '*Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindū Rites and Customs*', Motilal Banarasi Das, Delhi, IIIrd Edition, 1975, P. 193-4.

[35] In this connection, the views of K. D. Bajpeyi seem to be logically true. According to him, Indra, Agni and Varuṇa were recognised gods in Vedic society. The Importance of god Viṣṇu gradually developed from later Vedic period and Viṣṇu got more popularity than the rests. See the article of Bajpeyi, K. D. on '*Sātvat Vaiṣṇava Dharma Ke Mahān Srota-Śrikṛṣṇa*', in the Āchārya Baldeva Felicitation Volume, XXXVIII, G. N. Jha Kendriya Sanskṛta Vidyāpeetha, Allāhābād, 1981, P. 104.

[36] In this regard the views of Suvīrā Jaiswal and Kamil Bulke are also more important. See Jaiswal, S. : '*Vaiṣṇava Dharma Kā Udbhava Aur Vikās*', Delhi, 1967 and Bulke, K., *op. cit.*, P. 141.

[37] Several references are to be seen in the Rāmāyaṇa which are too much affected from Purāṇic Tendencies. The references are such as like Gaṅgā-Avataraṇa, Ṛśyaśṛṅga, Viśwāmitra, Śabarī, Ahalyā etc. For details see also the essay of A.D. Pusàlkar on '*The Rāmāyaṇa : Its History and Character*' in the book '*Cultural Heritage of India*' Vol. II, Calcutta, 1969, P. 21-23.

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THE DATE OF NĀṬYA ŚĀSTRA

By

BHARAT GUPT*

To decide upon the date of composition of this work is to strike a delicate balance between the newer evidence that points to its hoariness and the earlier view that places it in the 2nd cent. A.D. Scholars have not hesitated to assign it a date ever since printed editions have come to light since the end of nineteenth century. Considering that the earlier generation of scholars had only the mutilated and incomplete manuscripts in their hands whereas editors and students from Baroda edition (by Ramkrishna Kavi, 1926) onwards have had the marvellous commentary of Abhinavagupta in addition to the text,t he opinions of the pioneer editors and the later editors are bound to differ.[1]

In this paper we shall attempt to place the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, as coming before or after certain important works that are traditional landmarks in the history of sanskrit literature. To give an exact date, is almost impossible and this is so not only for the *NS* but for any work of Indian antiquity. Therefore, the best one can do is to examine the growth of *NS* in relation to the Purāṇas and Smṛtis and to see if this reveals a social climate older or younger than them. I shall try to establish this relationship mainly on the basis of the stage of development of music, dance and drama as it is found in different works. The intention here is not so much to decide upon an exact chronology of various works on the basis of historical references, it is more to decide a place for *NS* among these various works. This location is best decided upon by considering the cultural climate as described in *NS* and relating it to the cultural climate in Purāṇas etc.

The Sanskrit of the NS

The famous scholar, M. M. Ghosh speculated that the *NS* contains a good deal of '*ārṣa*' sanskrit (archaic and pre-Pāṇini).[2] Bharata Muni, then, perhaps wrote soon after Pāṇini, when the injunctions of the newly formulated grammar

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[1] Editions of *NS* : An extensive account of the printed editions is given by S. P. Sharma *NS* (1 and 2), Chowkhamba. Benaras, 1978, pp. 25-26.

[2] Sanskrit of *NS* : A detailed discussion of pre-Pāṇini sanskrit in *NS* showing archaic usages and laxity in sandhi rules etc. is given by M. M. Ghosh in his Introduction to his translation of the *NS* (1952), vol. I, Manisha Granthalaya, Calcutta, pp 4-36.

system were not yet pervasive in their influence. He also lists 22 words which are not used in classical sanskrit and are not even found in lexicons. They are simply peculiar to the *NS*. He similarly identifies 13 words that do occur in lexicons but have been hardly used. The sanskrit of the *NS* is indeed, quite unshadowed by classical usage in the sense that it is less impressed with the formalized structures of classical sanskrit and retains a certain freshness and simplicity, a certain closeness to the common spoken idiom.

All the same, the stage of development of the grammar of a language can never sufficiently provide a sure clue to the age of a work, particularly if the work has been later expanded. The archaic usage and pre-Pāṇini remnants in the *NS* only confirm that its first writer was a close successor of *Pāṇini*, and that he was relying upon works which were, perhaps, of greater antiquity than Pāṇini himself. These could be the writings of Nārada and Tumburu. We should now turn to the contents of the *NS* itself, to find some clues to its age.

*The Antiquity of Daśarūpaka*s

Looking at the entire corpus of the extant sanskrit plays, we notice a big hiatus between the time of their composition and the compilation of the *NS*. The *NS* defines ten kinds of plays which are basically either romances or action drama. However, by the time of Bhāsa, or even as early as *Aśvaghoṣa*, the action scripts like *Samavakāra*, *Ḍima*, *Īhāmṛga* and *Vyāyoga* had declined in popularity. The major figures in the ranks of sanskrit dramatists as known today, never tried their hand at these forms. By the 2nd cent. B.C. half the number of the forms classified in the *NS* are either dead or dying. It is of course highly unreasonable to believe that some of these forms were only fanciful classifications by Bharata who had no actual examples before him. Here, we must not forget that the first play produced by Bharata himself was a *Samavakāra*, written on the theme of the churning of the ocean. These action plays of the prime mythic theme of *samudramanthan* are decidedly lost. One reason for their disappearance could be that their script was improvisable and not of any great literary excellence. Also perhaps due to their length which required joint authorship, they were not preserved under one name. However, it remains to be noted that if these plays went out of fashion because of a change in the taste of the audience, such a change would have occurred not in a generation or two but rather in a few centuries.[3] This again is a pointer to the existence of Bharata long before Aśvaghoṣa and other dramatists.

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[3] *Samavakāra* : The change of taste could be caused by a change in audience. It seems that in the early stages this art in India was for all social classes; it was practised at public festivals and for days together to please a mixed audience. But the later day drama from Bhāsa onwards, i.e. the surviving bulk was patronized by the royalty and the upper classes. In any case, this kind of

The Antiquity of Music in the NS

The subject of Music as described in the *NS* would require volumes to be adequatly treated. Here we can take note of only a few of its characteristic features that specially bear on its historicity. Musical instruments that figure in the *NS* are obviously those of a pre-Christian era. Whereas the drums and cymbals are too simple to undergo evolution, the string instruments because of their complicated shapes are capable of giving crucial evidence for dating. In the *NS* there are no Zithers but only Harps. It is doubtful if the Lute was known to Bharata. The primary *vīṇā* of this period was bow-like with gut strings. These harps in history go back to 3000 B.C. Egypt (called 'bint' in Egyptian, from where perhaps '*vīṇā*' was derived), but they disappear in India in 300 A.D. as sculptural evidence would have us believe. The reliefs of the *Kuṣāṇa* period depict besides harps, lutes (something similar looking to modern sarod) which is totally unknown to the *NS*. The text (chapt. 29) describes the fingering of harps only. It has not a word for producing notes by sliding fingers on strings or frets. The lute, which is sister to the zither and the same in principle, as that which appears in Mathura sculpture seems to be generations ahead of the *NS* bow-like 'vīṇā', *Vipañcī* and *Citrā*.[4]

The Antiquity of 'Gāndharva'.

The present day word for music is '*saṅgīta*', which does not seem to be of very great antiquity. Kālidāsa has used '*saṅgītasahāyanī*' to describe a choral singer. It does not mean a fellow musician, but a vocal accompanist.[5] The word '*Saṅgīta*' occurs as early as *Vālmīki* (R. Kish. 28/36-37) but the passage containing the word is perhaps a later interpolation. By the Christian era '*saṅgīta*' had come to dènote popular musical activity. The term for standard classical production was still '*gāndharva*'. The *NS* throughout has one word for the art of music and that is '*gāndharva*'. The *NS*, therefore, belongs to a period

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scripted drama had greater chance of survival and preservation than the popular improvised theatre script which was something analogous to the modern T.V. Soap opera. All action drama of Bharata's classification need not have been of improvized type, some works of literary excellence must have been written but are now lost.

[4] *Vīṇās* of Bharata's period; My observations are based on visits to various museums, particularly the one at Mathura. As there is very little published photography of remains showing musical instruments no work can be cited here. For one see the *vīṇā* depicted on the cover jacket of Ācārya Bṛhaspati (1986), *Nāṭya Śāstra*, chapter 28, Bṛhaspati Publications, New Delhi.

[5] *Saṅgītasahāyanī*: *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V). In some editions '*Saṅgītasahakāriṇi*' is used instead.

when '*gīta*', so much used in *NS*, had not yet become '*saṅgīta*' (singing together). This also indicated that the *NS* was composed before all *kāvya* literature.

'*Gāndharva*' as an activity or a practice of the beings called '*gandharvas*' was known to the epics, the Smṛtis and the Brāhamaṇas.[6] But it did not always mean music. This practice could mean the custom of marrying in secret (*gāndharva vivāha*) as the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* and other codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya specify. It may be speculated that this kind of marriage derived its name only from the stories about *Gandharvas* who had been phantasized by this time into celestial beings, but also from the influence of the customs of a neighbouring people, perhaps the *Gāndharas*.

By the epic period, '*Gāndharva*', besides being a *vivāha*, had come to denote the art of singing and playing upon instruments. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* define it so. The first, even ascribes its origin to *Sāmaveda* and credits Bharata with making a *śāstra* of it (iii, 8421 and 5103). And as we have tried to show above Vālmīki was well aware of a *gāndharva-śāstra* and had used so much of Bharata's terminology that this saying in *Mahābhārata* need not be summarily dismissed as a later interpolation.

Closely related to music, is the story given in *Ātareya* and the *Śatapatha* Brāhmaṇas,[7] that the gods needed soma which they took from a *gandharva* and in return gave them speech (*vāk*). The *Gandharva* thus came to possess speech, however speech here should not be taken as containing all forms of vocal expression including music. Till the Puranic times *Gandharvas* had no relation to music. The *Gandharvas* of Brāhmaṇas are handsome male figures, almost supernatural beings that consort with their female partners, the *Apsaras*.[8] By this time the male-female pair (*mithuna*) of the *Gandharva—Apsara* has lost any connection with a living tribe or race of the Indian subcontinent, which it might have had in early Vedic times. It has become a representation of the youthfu couple that symbolises fertility and eros. There is here no association with dance or music. On the contrary, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* clearly shows that vāk was wooed by both the gods and the *Gandharva*, Viśvāvasu. The *Gandharva* recited the *Vedas* to enchant *Vāk* by his knowledge. The gods on the other hand played upon the lute and succeeded in enticing her. The text ends the episode by observing that women are foolish; they ignore learning and fall for things like music which is considered ficklish in comparison with *Veda*. Th connotation of *vāk* as the patron deity of literature and music occurs only long after the Brahmanic times.

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[6] *Gandharva* : *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (1, 6, 5); found in *Manusmṛti* *vivāha* and in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* too. In *R.V.* x, 80, 6. and in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. In *MBh* (iii, 8421) and (xiii, 5103).

[7] *Gandharva* related to speech : *Aitareya Br.* (1, 27); *Śatapatha* (iii, 2.4.7.).

[8] *Śatapatha Br.* (ix, 4.1.2).

The stories of the Brāhmaṇas, however, are an amplification of the earlier muthos found in *Ṛgveda*.[9] The *mantras* describe how Indra for the sake of humanity vanquished the *Gandharva* (here also spoken of in the singular) and obtained *soma* from him. The *Vedas* too then, knew of *Gandharvas* as guardians of *soma*. But in the Vedic story the *Gandharva* is given nothing in return for *soma*.

In the Vedic *Saṁhitās*, the '*Gandharva*' appears never as a people but only as an individual. He is not human but heavenly, and has air, sky or holy waters as his habitation. He is once called Viśvāvasu and another time Vāyukeśa. He has varied yet interrelated functions, such as guarding *soma*, being a physician and in one case giving birth to the first pair of humans, Yama and Yamī.[10] He is credited with having a special power over women whom he has a right to possess.[11] For this reason *Gandharvas* are invoked in marriage ceremonies[12] and being endowed with mystical powers are considered to be involved in ecstacy and other abnormal mental states. On seeing the above account, a parallel with Greek daimons of trees, waters and valleys can hardly not occur to one's mind.

The post *saṁhitā* literature makes a class (*jāti*) out of *Gandharvas*. They are shown as subject to Varuṇa and their consorts, the *Apsaras* in the power of *Soma*. They are invoked in gambling with dice,[13] and they are also to be feared as possessing the ability to harm. Gradually they are put in the category of *Rākṣasas*, *Kimiḍīns* and *Piśācas*. However, the two Brāhmaṇas still speak of them as revealers of *Veda* to *Vāk* and preceptors of the *Ṛiṣis*.[14]

The '*Gandharva*', thus has a history as a being of some power that has always been of vital importance to man. It may be noted that for the Vedic age he is seminal importance as possessor of the most coveted thing of the time, that is *soma;* he also bestows health, being a physician, and above all fecundity. Thus, the role of a *Gandharva*, if not sublimely spiritual, is at least that of a nourisher who provides sustenance with which the flesh feels most assured. To the later age of the Brāhmaṇas, except for *soma*, he provides the same along wit ecstacy and knowledge of *Vāc* (words). To the Epic and Paurāṇic age, th medicinal and the psychological gifts of the *Gandharvas* are turned into a mor tangible and worldly art, that of music, which has in the end the same efficacy o rejuvenating man as have *soma* and medicine.

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[9] Indra's victory over Gandharva : *R.V.* (viii, 1, 11 & 77).

[10] Viśvāvasu : *R.V.* (x, 85, 21-22); as inhabitants of sky, air and water in *R.V.* (i, 22, 14,) & (viii, 77, 5), & (ix, 85, 12 & 86 & 36) & (x, 10, 4), in *Atharva Veda* (11, 2, 3). As guardian of *Soma* in *R.V.* (ix, 83, 4 & 85 & 12). As parent of Yama and Yami *R.V.* (x, 10, 4,).

[11] Possessor of women : *R.V.* (x, 85, 21 & 22; 40 & 41).

[12] Invoked in marriage ceremonies : *A.V.* (xiv, 2, 35 & 36).

[13] Invoked by dice : *A.V.* (viii, 109, 5).

[14] Preceptor of *Ṛsis* : *Śatapatha Br.* (xi, 5, 7, 2).

The fact, however, remains that in the Vedic and the Brāhmaṇa tim *Gandharvas* had no connection with music. It is the epic age that attribute this art to them. Why should this have happened ? Why the epic age came t attribute to the *gandharvas* an art for which they had hardly been known before At this point of our inquiry, it is relevant to ask if the *gandharvas*, as spoken (in *Saṁhitā* and later literature, had derived their name from any geographic people, as was the case with the *kinnaras*. In the epic and puranic lore, th *kinnaras* are fellow-musicians to *Gandharvas*. Is it fanciful to suggest th Afghanistan which has a township called Kāndhāra still extant, was the regio to which the people called *Gandharvas* belonged, or in which they had bee compelled to settle down ? It is also possible that originally the *gandharv* belonged to the region of the Caspian sea and in ancestory were related to th people whom the Greeks came to refer to as *centaurs*, *kentauros*, *kenthargos* (*kεvθαpj* – 04). The association of an ancestory derived from the horse is common to both.[15]

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* the *Gandharvas* are at one place referred to as a tribe that is named along with the *Gāndharas*.[16] Although it is a lone reference and cannot be accorded much weight, on the basis of phonetic similarity, it is possible to argue that the region ' *Gāndhāra* and its inhabitants so well known in India since the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* an the *Mahābhārata*, were the successors to the race which formed the basis for th name of being referred to in the *Rig Veda*.

If a relation between the Gāndharas and the Gandharvas is accepted, the it is possible to propose a hypothesis that the epic age conferred upon th *Gandharvas* the new attribute of musical knowledge because it was perhaps this time that, the *Gāndharas* raised the art of music to a great height. Th region of the subcontinent perhaps at that time had become the locus of a gre confluence of the musical traditions of East and Mediterranean. The very a thus, came to be known by the name of the region and was so called by it eve in the heartland of India. This name, '*gāndharva*' continued for music for centuries to come. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* one of the nine divisions of *Bhārata Varṣa* is also called '*Gāndhara*'.[17]

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[15] *Gandharva* as horse; *MBh.* (iii, 11762) & (ii, 1043); It could corelated to *Centaurs* on the basis of the Indian story of Gāndharvī who the daughter of Surabhī and the mother of the race of horses. The story is refer to in MBh (i, 2631f) and in *Rāmāyaṇa* (iii, 20, 28f).

[16] *Gandharvas* as a tribe : *Rāmāyaṇa* (vii, 100, 10f) and Varāhamihir *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (xiv, 31).

Bharata Muni and his *Nāṭya Śāstra*, therefore, seem to belong to a period in which the art of music had newly acquired the name of *gāndharva*, a name which was present in the Vedic Saṁhitās and even the Brāhmaṇas but with no musical connotations. The Vedic terms for song and singing are entirely different. There the term '*gāthā*' is used for song, so is *gāyatra*, and for singing the word is '*gāthin*'. The reciters of *Sāman* chants are called '*sāmagā*'. '*Gāyana*' for singing or singer is to be found only as late as Pāṇini.[18]

Pre-epic Themes of Early Drama

There is ample evidence in the present day recensions of the Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* that points towards a first hand knowledge of a *Śāstra* of music and dance. This *Śāstra* was in all probability none other than the NS of Bharata Muni, as is evident from the commonness of technical terms used in both *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *NS*. Indian drama in my opinion was not dependent upon Vālmīki's text for its maturity but had long before come into its own through the enactment of many other muthoi like *Lakṣmī Svayaṁvara* and *Amṛta Manthana*. Although, today in the popular Indian theatre the muthoi of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata* are the most depended upon, they need not have been the only source material for early dramatic enactment. The emergence of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as heroes and later as incarnations of Viṣṇu is preceded by many muthoi of Vedic origin. Besides stories like that of Urvaśī and Purūravāḥ, which is a paradigm of romance, the *Sura-Asura* conflict has been a good source for the action oriented plays. From the '*daśarūpa*' chapter of the *NS* it is not difficult to gather that ll the ten forms of ancient drama could be divided into two basic categories that of Comedy and Conflict. Love and war were the enduring themes, *Śṛṅgāra* and *audra* the basic *rasas* for the ancients.

The NS itself has, as a matter of principle, avoided referring to any muthos et alone any contemporary play. The only mention of the muthos of *Amṛta anthana* is made at the time of describing the first 'experiment' (*prayoga*) hat the sage Bharata performed to please Śiva. This indisputably indicates a re-epic maturity of drama. Even if the event described is taken as indicative of n already existing trend, rather than the inception of a new one by the originaor, the conclusion cannot be otherwise.

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[17] *Gāndharva* as an area of Bhāratavarṣa : *Vāyupurāṇa* (ii, 3, 7).

[18] *Gāthā* : *R.V.* (i, 67, 68) & (ix, 11, 14); *Gāthin R.V.* (i, 1, 1); *āyanas* : Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (iii, 1, 147).

The Theory of Post-epic appearance of theatre

If Grosset dated the *NS* to 100 B.C. he had only metre and rhetoric to rely upon. So was the case with Keith and Konow. Besides, this generation of writers were labouring under a basic prejudice, a common belief of their times, that the first element of theatre is dialogue. Sustained dialogue can ensue only from a well-formulated story, which should not only belong to public memory, but should have also taken the shape of written literature. Drama, thus, for all those who have been raised on the modern European master-pieces, is the staging of an epic or a popular story. It is not, therefore, surprising that Keith presumes that the development of Indian drama started taking shape only after the Kṛṣṇa legend had been well formulated and the '*śobhanikās*' as mentioned by Patañjali had begun their performances. The *NS*, then, would be in the opinion of these scholars, a manual formulated a few centuries after the epics. A close analysis of the situation, however, reveals something quite different.

The NS and The Rāmāyaṇa

Although references to drama and other performing arts in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmīki* have been noted by scholars, there has been little effort at finding out the possible relationship between these references and the *NS*. From my study of most of the terms related to music, dance and drama, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (and it must be admitted that there are more terms for music than for drama), I have come to the conclusion that the text of *Vālmīki* as it stands today, shows a clear awareness of a *śāstra* of music and that this *śāstra* was most likely that of Bharata Muni. Vālmīki has used many words like '*samāja*', '*gāndharva*', '*gīta*' and '*vīṇā*', which even a lay person would use while talking of a musical event. But in addition, Vālmīki has used so many musical terms, like '*Śruti*' '*sthāna*' '*mūrcchanā*', '*jāti*', '*sammūrcchita*', '*aṅgahāra*' and '*ātodya*' and while using them he shows an awareness of their definitions as given in the present day version of the *NS*.[19]

From this it is not unfair to conclude that Vālmīki did know of Bharata. It is to be borne in mind that some of these verses which contain *nāṭya* terms could be later interpolations as this epic too has like the later one the *Mahābhārata*, grown with the passage of time. All the same there is no reason to suppose that all these references definitely belong to the interpolated sections.

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[19] References to Dance and Music in the *Rāmāyaṇa* : *Tantrīlaya* (*Bāl*, 2, 18); *Sarvaśrutimanoharam* (Bāl, 4, 27); *Sthānamūrcchanākovidau* (*Bāl*, 4, 10) *Jāti* (*Bāl*, 4, 8); *Samāja* (*Ayo*, 51, 23); *Śrutiśīla* (*Ayo*, 65, 2); *Samāja* (*Ayo* 91, 49), *Saṅgīta* (*Kis*, 28, 36); *Sammūrcchita* (*Kis*, 30, 50), *Ātodya* (*Sund*, 10, 49); *Mūrcchayitvā* (*Ut*, 93, 14) and *Kalāmātra* (*Ut*, 94, 7). These references are taken from the Gita Press, Gorakhpur edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In any case even if it is conceded that the lines showing the influence of the *NS* are a part of later additions, the compilation of the *NS* was perhaps being done almost the same time when Vālmīki was writing the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is again the same era in which the '*gandharvas*' had been recognized as musicians and the predecessors of Bharata like Tumburu and Nārada, well known by tradition to be of '*gāndharva jāti*', had come to be recognized as great musicians.

The NS and the Mahābhārata

The *Mahābhārata* is considered to be of a later period than the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The muthos of Rāma has been in many places referred to in its verses. '*Rāmopākhyāna*', a summary of *Rāmāyaṇa*, as found in *Mahābhārata* is no longer considered by scholars to be a later interpolation. Thus, the references to the performing arts and to music in the epic are likely to occur more extensively. As the epic itself is bigger, meandering and receptive to additions, it is all the more difficult to say which of its portions are the oldest and which are of a much later period. The *Anuśāsana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* contains a definition of *svara* (defining them as *iṣṭa aniṣṭa*, *saṁhata* and *prāgvibhāgavān*) which seems an elaboration of the *vādi*, *saṁvādi* concept of *svara* as given in the *NS*, but the terms used in the verses of the epic are not found anywhere else. An exhaustive study of the *Mahābhārata* that could provide useful clues for research in the *NS* still remains to be undertaken.

The Prose Passages in the NS

Much has been made of the few extremely brief and widely interspersed prose passages in the *Nāṭya Sāstra*. These and some scattered lines of prose have been given the status of *sūtras*. It has been claimed that these passages are a proof of the material that pre-dates the verses, it being a natural presumption that prose of the *sūtra* period preceded the style of writing in verse. But a keen probe into the context of all these passages of prose does not show them to be of any different school of thought or of a style such as would definitively suggest the authorship of a predecessor of Bharata, such as Śilālin or Kriśāśva.

Let us see where and how the prose comes in. But before going into a chapterwise examination of the occurrence of prose, in the *NS*, it must be said that the language of this prose is not in any way similar to the famous *sūtra* works of any era. In the actual *sūtras* the language is terse, concise and brief to the extent of being condensed on purpose. The *sūtra* literature for the very decoding of its meaning and for serving as instruction to the students was dependent upon a tradition of study which presumed a line of verbal explanators. The prose of *NS* has no such structure. On the contrary it is prose that is not condensed that which means to expand and illustrate.

Out of the 36 chapters only 10 contain the prose passages. In terms of the total bulk of the text they seem to be hidden in a jungle of verses, as they are so puny. In chapters eight, thirteen, fourteen and thirtythree, the prose passage in each chapter is of no more than thirty words and in seventeen it is hardly noticeable. Thus, it is only in five chapters that they are sizable enough to be influential. It is on the basis of these chapters that any conclusion regarding the nature of the prose can be drawn. Out of these five chapters, the prose of chapters twentynine and thirteen can neither be called prose nor poetry, as it is just a notation of strokes for drums. Effectively, we are left with chapters only six and seven, which deal with the subject of *rasa* and *bhāva* and the twenty-eight chapter which lays down the scales and notes.

From the sixth to the seventeenth chapter the prose passages are followed by verses which are called '*anuvaṁśya*' (preserved by tradition). Along with the passages, these verses are also considered to support a case for the existence of pre-Bharata material that is supposed to have been incorporated in the *NS*. Whereas the verses so named may be granted to be of an earlier period there is no saying that the prose is not that of Bharata. The 'traditional' verses very often either repeat what is said in prose, or add little. This only goes to show that whereas the verses existed at the time of compilation, the prose was written by Bharata Muni to make certain things clear that may not have been so explicit in verses. Although, it was not impossible to convey the content of the prose in verse, it is obvious that wherever prose was more conducive to precision and unambiguity, prose has been chosen unhesitatingly. That seems to be the only discernible reason for this choice. If it had been only a matter of incorporating older texts, then, many other passages would have found their way into the corpus without any justification.

The *anuvaṁśya* verses disappear from eighteenth chapter onwards, though verses just not called so perform the same task. Similarly, in the musical sections dependence on prose seems a wiser course and on some occasions the only one. For instance, the *Śruti*-demonstration experiment would have lost much of its coherence in verse as it did when Śārngadeva repeated it in his '*Saṅgītaratnākara*'. To conclude then, the prose is not genuine *sūtra* literature and the *NS* should thus not be dated on the basis of it. The prose could be of Bharata, or drawn from work extant in Bharata's time. But its presence in the *NS* is not a case of random interpolation but of thoughtful selection by Bharata Muni. That it serves a purpose can be seen by analysing its content in relation to the preceeding and succeeding verses. Those who argue thut Abhinava has called the *NS*, '*Bharata sūtra*' should allow for the fact that he has done so to indicate its structural coherence rather than using '*sūtra*' in its technical sense.

The NS as antedating Kauṭilya, Vātsyāyana and Amarakoṣa.

Kālidāsa's awareness of the *NS* and his recapitulation of the contents of its first seven chapters in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, is well known.[20] In any case the poet, inspite of the controversy about his time, is chronologically too late to show any proximity to Bharata. By his time the *rasa* doctrine had acquired an orthodoxy. The work which does show some proximity to the *NS*, is the *Artha Śāstra* of Bṛhaspati. The *NS* refers to it,[21] and uses '*dvāstha*' (courtier) and '*kumārādhíkṛtāḥ*' (warden of princes), which are pre-Kauṭilyan. The *NS* nowhere mentions the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya, which was written in succession to Bṛhaspati's work. The words given in the *NS*, become '*dauvārika*' and '*kumārādhyakṣa*', in Kauṭilya, and have since been included in all lexicons.

Similarly the *NS*. does talk of a '*kāmatantra*'.[22] But what is referred to is not of the famous *Sūtra*s of Vātsyāyana. It hardly needs to be added that while dealing with feminine psychology and sexual relations (*stripuṁsopacāra*) the *NS* presents a world which has heard nothing of Vātsyāyana's classification. Bharata follows a system of classifying women into 22 kinds named after *deva*, *dānava*, and *gāndharva* and animals like *vānara*, *mīna*, *makara* etc. The classification seems to be more of a fanciful kind, not so much meant to illustrate the nature of sexual activity but more to describe the general feminine behaviour for the purpose of dramatization.

Although, the *Amara Koṣa* is a very late work of about 4th cent. AD. we are constrained to comment upon its possible relation to the *NS*, since some have argued a case placing Bharata later than it. It has been said that as the *Amar Koṣa* in its section on music does not mention terms like '*mūrcchanā*' and

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[20] देवानामिदमामनन्ति मुनयः कान्तं क्रतुं चाक्षुषम् ।
रुद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा ॥
त्रैगुण्योद्भवमत्र लोकचरितं नानारसं दृश्यते ।
नाट्यं भिन्नरुचेर्जनस्य बहुधाऽप्येकं समाराधनम् ॥

The first line recapitulates the '*kriḍanīyakam*' of Bharata but calls it a '*kratum*' (ritual) which is meant to please visually. '*Munayaḥ*' is the plural form of *muni*. It refers to Bharata. The second line describes *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* which were created by Śiva and Umā. The last two lines imply that *nāṭya* which consists of many *rasa*s, is able to please men and women of all dispositions.

[21] *Arthaśāstra* of Bṛhaspati : सर्वशास्त्रार्थसंपन्ना:
कुमाराधिकृतास्तथा । बृहस्पतिमतादेषां गुणांश्चासिकां श्रयेत् ॥
NS (24.88) GOS No. 124 Vol. III. OI. Baroda ed. 1954

[22] *Kāmatantra* : *NS* (22, lines 151, 192 and 202) also (23, 77) OI, Baroda ed. Besides, a '*vaiśikaśāstra*' is mentioned in Chap. 6. (p. 309). It cannot be said that *kāmatantra* and *vaiśikaśāstra* are two names of the same book.

'*mārjanā*', there was presumably no *NS* extant before it. Such an argument is misleading. For besides these terms, the lexicon does not mention a hundred other terms which a vast repository of music and drama like the *NS* is replete with. But the *Amara Koṣa* clearly mentions the eight *rasa*s as laid down by Bharata. It also follows Bharata's classification of instruments into *tata*, *avanaddha*, *suṣira* and *ghana*. By the time of the *Amara Koṣa*, '*bharata*' had become an occupational name for the stage people. The dictionary clearly took shape centuries after Bharata.

Similarly, the influence of Bharata's doctrine had shaped words like '*rasika*' which was used for the actor by Patañajali. (*Yog.* 5 2 95)

The Wooden Theatre-house.

The most evident feature of the playhouse in the *NS* is its temporariness. More than anythying else, this ephemerality was necessitated by the performance of *Nāṭya* as part of festivals (*utsava*s on various occasions) which lasted for a few days only. The playhouse as an area of year round entertainment was not known to any society of ancient times throughout the world. But what is to be noted for our purpose, is the lack of influence of architecture in stone on the *NS* playhouse. What is evident, is the art of building which shows little awareness of the techniques of stone work. Even a simple thing like the stage floor area is not given a covering with stone slabs but is left to the skill of the builder to make it even and smooth like a mirror. The hiatus between the craft of building-in-wood and the later one of building in stone is so great that none of the terms like '*ṣaḍdāruka*' and '*mattavāraṇī*' used by Bharata while describing the construction of his '*raṅga-maṇḍapa*' have any surviving trace in the later manuals on architecture.

The NS as a compilation

As early as Abhinavagupta it was believed that the surviving text of the *NS* was not from the pen of a single Bharata, but that it was a coalition rendered by Bharata by combining the separate works of three schools; *Brahma-mata*, *Sadāśiva-mata* and *Bharata-mata*. The progenitor of the last school is perhaps the same as Vṛddha Bharata i.e. Bharata senior. This was the view held by a '*Nāstika teacher*' (probably Jain) contemporary to Abhinavagupta.[23]

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[23] The view of *Nāstikadhuryāḥ*; Since very early times doubts have been raised about the authenticity of the introductory story in which Bharata Muni is seen being questioned by other munis about the origin, purpose, parts, length and contents of the *NS*. As is evident from the *Abhinavabhāratī* some thought that the *NS* consisted of parts not all of which were written by Bharata. For some the story was added to the *NS* later by a disciple. Abhinava rejects these ideas. For him :

To add to this is the comment of *Śāradātanaya* that the earlier compilation of the *NS* consisted of twelve thousand verses and that Bharata did the job of reducing it to six thousand more relevant and essential verses. *Śāradātanaya* thus in *Bhāvaprakāśana*[24] only echoes the widely held traditional belief that by no means could Bharata Muni be regarded as the first to produce a work on dramaturgy. The hundred sons of Bharata as named in the *NS* are believed by some to be his contemporaries if not predecessors. But they are more likely to be his successors than 'elders' (*gurujana*), for no follower of Bharata, however devoted, would go against traditional respectfulness towards 'elder' dramaturgists and demote them to the status of the sons of his mentor (*sampradāya guru*). Dattila, Kohala, Vātsya and Śandilya are thus successors of Bharata who had little distinctive of their own to add to the work of Bharata, and were thus absorbed into his family. Such a fate did not befall Tumburu, Nārada, Svāti or Nandikeśvara, who according to all sources have been unquestionably held to be

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तच्चासत् । एकस्य ग्रन्थस्यानेकवक्तृवचनसंदर्भमयत्वे प्रमाणाभावात् । स्वपरव्यवहारेण पूर्वपक्षोत्तरपक्षादीनां श्रुतिस्मृतिव्याकरणतर्कादिशास्त्रेष्वेकविरचितेष्वपि दर्शनात् ।

एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतत्रयविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममतसारताप्रतिपादनाय मतत्रयी सारासारविवेचनं तद्ग्रन्थखण्डप्रक्षेपेण विहितमिदं शास्त्रम् । न तु मुनिविरचितमिति यदाहुर्नास्तिकधुर्योपाध्यायास्तत्प्रत्युक्तम् ।

"It is not true because there is no evidence that the views of many people are to be found in this one book (i.e. the *NS*). Anyway, we see that in *śruti*, *smṛti*, *vyākaraṇa* and *śāstra*s of logic etc., one writer presents his views and also those of his opponents (for the sake of developing the arguement)."

"Thus, I have also contradicted the *nāstika* teacher who holds that this work (*NS*) was not written by Bharata Muni but that for the purpose of upholding the *Brāhmamata*, the portions of *Sadāśiva*, *Bharata* and *Brāhmamata*s have been put together to make this *śāstra* so that there could be an analyses of the three *mata*s and as a result of which the *brāhmamata* could be upheld." *Abhinava-bhāratī*, *NS* vol. I, OI, Baroda, p. 9.)

In modern times we tend to overlook the fact that the narrative device of talking about oneself as a third person was used by many writers of antiquity. Thus, in *MBh*. Vyāsa narrates the incident between him and Brahmā and the help given to him by Gaṇeśa. So it is nothing unlikely that Bharata Muni himself has narrated how he was questioned and what he said in reply.

[24] एवं द्वादशसाहस्रैः श्लोकैरेकं तदर्धत ।
षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य सङ्ग्रहः ।
भरतैनमिनस्तेषां प्राख्यातो भरताह्वयः ॥

Bhāva Prakāśana P. 287 (N. Sagar Press) 1937 seniors to Bharata. For Abhinavagupta, Tumburu and Nandikeśvara are the same person.

Now whether or not " *Bharata* " was a historical *ācārrya*, or that the term only denoted a school which was called " Bharata ", or that Bharata was really a compiler with great acumen, it remains that ever since circa 6th cent. B.C. no famous work on drama was in existence other than that of Bharata. If the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (4/3/29, 110-1) mentions the *Naṭa Sūtra* of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva, no later work repeats this reference. No earlier literature mentions them either. That the the '*Naṭa Sūtra*s' as mentioned by Pāṇini concerned themselves with drama and not acrobatics, can be safely presumed, but their contents can hardly be speculated upon. The non-mention of Bharata by Pāṇini should again not be taken to mean his nonexistence, at that time. That Bharata has called the *Naṭa*s, *Śilālin*, and that the *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* (13/5/3/13) names them and the *Āpastamba Sūtra* (6/4/7) talks of a '*Śilālinbrāhamaṇa*', only confirms the name of one of the predecessors of Bharata but says precious little about his contribution.

Bharata the First and Last Compiler

As has happened in the case of Vyāsa, the name Bharata sometimes seems to refer to an individual, and at other times to a tribe (*vaṁśa*), or a vocation (*jāti*). Even as individuals, there are at least five distinct historical Bharatas. The grandson of Māndhātā, the brother of Rāma, son of Śakuntalā, the ascetic Jaḍa Bharata, and finally the comiler of the *NS*. Out of tnese, the first three were the monarchs of near Vedíc times, who are far removed from the *NS* not only chronologically, but in social status as well. Emergence of kings as writers of literary eminence is a very late phenomenon in India. The sage Jaḍa Bharata is hardly known for anything other than his penance and rebirth as a deer. Similarly, the son of the Jain adept Ṛṣabha need not be connected with drama.

The question, then, remains. Was the compiler of the *NS* an individual or was the text put together over centuries by a succession of professional performers, who unlike the very common actor were educated, and were known by the trade name of '*bharata*' ? It is obvious that the ancient lexicons had come to define '*bharata*' as a professional performer as early as the *Amarakoṣa*. (2/10/12). The text of the *NS* itself contains lines that use the word in that sense (*NS* 36.35). However, it is well-known that these *bharata*s were *śūdras* and were not possessing the necessary critical skill needed to compile a *śāstra*. Their presence in history does not provide any sure grounds for disbelieving in the existence of an actual historical person by the name of Bharata.

Bharata Muni, a Person not a 'tradition'.

Even if there has been a profession of *bharata*s as the lexicons an Śāradātanaya would have us believe, there are still weighty reasons to believe in

Muni who preceded these *bharatas*, the *naṭas*. This Muni, by achieving eminence in the field of *Nāṭya*, gave the professionals of theatre the nomenclature of '*bharatas*'. The ruling class of *kṣatriyas* who were known as *bharatas*, and who gave the region of North Western India the name of Bhārata Varṣa, were not likely to allow any of their clan, even in '*āpaddharma*' (in times of social disorder) to take up the profession of *naṭas*. The stage life seemed to have become very early beyond the range of activity of a *dvija* (a twice-born person). The *kṣatriya bharatas* would not have taken to what even a *vaiśya* disliked and still retained their genealogical nomenclature in the new profession of stage work. The possibility of '*bharata*' having been coined etymologically with reference to its connotation is also slim. The word contains little that can be related to any characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) of *Nāṭya*. The injunction, '*nāṭyavedamimam yasmāt bharata iti*' or '*veṣam vayaḥ karma* ceṣṭā *bibhrat*', *iti bharata* (the one who has received the *nāṭyaveda* and taught it or one who wears the form, age, manners and actions of others, is called *bharata*), is a fanciful etymology (*vyutpatti*) given by later commentators like Śāradātanaya. Such imaginative etymologies are a delightful pastime that the Sanskrit grammarians never miss a chance to indulge.[25] It is not in the word *bharata* that any clue to its association with theatre or performing arts is to be found, but in the simple fact that the first great compiler or the *śāstra* of theatre happened to be carrying the name of Bharata, and thus in the course of time the actors, directors etc. came to be known as *bharatas* after him. That this happened soon after Bharata Muni, is evidenced by the obviously interpolated passage in the *NS* (36.35) which calls the actors, *bharatas*. The actors and stage people acquired the name *bharata* because they followed the *śāstra* of Bharata Muni. As the *Bharata śāstra* was their *veda* (the book of their profession and knowledge), they were called the '*mānasaputrāḥ*' (mentally conceived sons) of Bharata Muni.

However, it may be noted that *bharata* as a term for performer has never been used in any poem, or prose passage in Sanskrit or even a medieval Indian language. It seems that while following the meaning of Bharata as given in the *NS*, lexicons and Śāradātanaya never looked for its verification in actual practice. If they had anything to rely on at all it was the *NS* (36.35) itself.[26]

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[25] *Sudhā Vyākhyā* of *Amarkośa* by Bhānujī, son of Bhattojī Dixit. He defines, '*svāngam bibharti iti bharataḥ*'. He is followed by *Śabdakalpadruma* and *Vācaspatyabṛhadābhidhānaḥ*.

[26] The professional performer in ancient India was reduced to śūdrahood by the epic age. The story in *NS* (36, 35) seems to be an ateological myth about this phenomenon. It narrates that the sons of Bharata parodied the sages in their plays. The sages cursed them śudrahood. In the *Brāhamaṇas*, the *vīṇā* players who participate in the *Aśvamedha* are *Brāhamaṇa* and *Kṣatriya*. There

The balance of probability, therefore, is that in 500 B.C. there lived an individual who was not a great dancer or actor (*naṭa*, being the word for both dancer and actor) nor simply an *ācārya* (master Scholar and teacher), but a profound thinker who collected all the available material related to performance and gave it not only shape and coherence but also a structure lying deep in the ethos of stage skills. It was Bharata who raised the art of performance to the level of an ecstatic experience that has been well defined by the metaphor of '*rasa*'. There is no labouring the point that material on theatre craft existed before Bharata Muni in the form of some *sūtras*, perhaps of Śilālin origin, and perhaps also in the shape of *kārikās* composed by earlier innovators like Tumburu, Taṇḍu and Svāti and Nāndikeśvar, and there was also the contribution of a host of others like Nārada and Viśvāvasu who are a part of the legendary names in the early history of Indian *nāṭya*, but none of this material, no work by any of them is extant today. It was Bharata Muni who gave all this material a unity and magnitude, in fact more than that he gave it a veritable structure. It was for this achievement that Bharata was very early called a '*munī*' and an '*āpta*' and '*lakṣya cakṣu*'. (Thinkers who have no predecessors with recorded views, are called '*āpta*'. Those thinkers who can envision a given '*lakṣya*' (an art or science) in all its totality are called '*lakṣya cakṣu*'. They are contrasted with most of us who are able to comprehend only a few aspects (*lakṣaṇa*) of a given subject and are therefore called '*lakṣaṇa cakṣu*).

The NS, a Deep Structure

What seems to me to be the most persuasive reason for accepting the historical personality of Bharata Muni is the obviousness of a well structured design in the *NS*. It is not likely that a line of *ācārryas*, that is the professional scholars of the *NS*, could have over a period of centuries provided to the total text of the *NS* the cogency that exists in all its chapters. Not forgetting the size and

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seems to be no chance of their being other than *divija*. *Śatapatha Br*. (13.1.5.2.) declares that this vīṇā playing must be done by caste persons to revitalize their castehood. In the ritual playing at *Aśvamedha* only religious efficacy is desired, whereas in the later times entertainment as a motive also gets mixed into the general religiousity of a *nāṭya* festival. In the epic and later times the professional performer has his own social place (caste) which is beyond the pale of higher education. There should have been, however, in the hierarchy of the theatre people an uppermost caste of *nāṭyācāryas*. These, in addition to their higher learning were likely to be Brahmins and the keepers of the books of the trade. Perhaps, in spite of their association with the śūdra actor they kept distance from him in matters of food, living and marriage. Such an hierarchical arrangement is not improbable and exists even today among the architecture people of Gujarat. These traditional temple makers are called '*Sompurās*'.

variety of themes and an unsurpassed effort at comprehensiveness, it is hard to believe that evolution and not momentous eclectioism gave this *śāstra* its first shape. It is only an individual who could have achieved this unity of vision. This unity so clearly exists and has for so long enchanted some of the best minds and challenged them to attempt its elucidation. This vision, is undoubtedly of an individual and not something put together by a corporate tradition.

To recognize the personality of a Bharata Muni is not to deny that passages have been appended to the *śāstra* since his time, that mutilations and losses have occurred. The case of the *NS* and Bharat Muni is typical of the history of Indian *śāstra*s where a great mind like Pāṇini Vātsyāyana, Manu or Kauṭilya reviews a particular branch of learning, gives the subject a shape and coherence, reconciles the differences and still leaves much to be explained and added. Bharata Muni is even more distinctive, seeing that whereas Pāṇini had grammarians soon after him, Bharat like Vātsyāyana or Kauṭilya had nobody to attempt a successive work, that is, for another milleneum, till Mataṅga. And it is also quite evident that none of the later writers ever succeeded in achieving the scope and unity of his vision. Śārṅgadeva, Pārṣvadeva, Śāradātanaya and many others have been forced to copiously draw upon him; they never succeded in reconciling the elements inherited from him with the principles and practices of their own times. The presence of a Bharata in the *NS* was clearly recognised by Abhinavagupta as is denoted by his simply calling him '*muni*'.

Later Growth of the NS

The great attempt to give a philosophical and cosmological significance to *Nāṭya* began with Bharata Muni and was continued by his successors like Dattila, Kohala, Saindhava, Vātsya, and others, known as the 'hundred sons of Bharata' (*śataputrāḥ*). Most of these names from the list of hundred have no mention in the later texts related to Drama. And, therefore, it is difficult to say if the list is fully authentic. On the other hand some well known names like Dattila and Kohala have been taken to be predecessors of Bharata Muni by some modern scholars. It is said that they have been made to suffer a demotion in being presented as sons, and this distortion has been committed to elevate Bharata. But as we have earlier said this sort of an act goes against all traditional norms. A small piece attributed to Dattila is extant and his views have been mentioned by Abhinava and later medieval commentators. But not a word from any other 'son' survives. In view of this it is not rash to presume that most of the 'sons' were engaged in the task of preserving and teaching the *NS* as compiled by Bharata. And it was in their times that the text might have acquired some of the passages that seem rather late.

To my mind the text of the *NS* ceased to acquire anything new very early. By the 2nd cent. A.D. it had become in many respects antiquated. Out of its ten genres only three or four were being practised by playwrights. Most of the heroic genres had gone of vogue; all the well known dramatists have not tried their hands at *Ḍima* or *Samavakāra* or *Īhāmṛga*. Theatre seems to have declined in its mass appeal as is witnessed by the disappearance of this action drama. The distinction between a practical performance script and a script written more with literary niceties in mind seems to have crept in. As a result plays with literary value tend to be preserved even when they have outlived their immediate performance purpose. No wonder we have only a tiny fraction of the total number of plays that saw the light of theatre. The case is identical with hundreds of Greek plays that were performed but were never preserved.

By the 5th cent. A.D. the living theatre of Bharata tradition vanished from India. The job of the '*nāṭyācārya*' was taken over by the '*vyākhyākāra*'. The practioner of the art was substituted by the critic. And this new tribe of commentators did not have the living art to witness, but only the revered book to study and explicate. Hence with Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka the age of speculation began of which we have only one specimen in *Abhinavabhāratī*, and which has not as yet spent up its force.

Since the 5th century when Bharata compiled it, the structure of the *NS* has remained intact. Changes in lines, loss of passages, repetitions have entered but they have not clouded its natural effulgence and meaning. Hardly any major contradictions have crept in, nor has any jarring doctrine shown its face. Similarly there have been no alterations or emendations to its original purpose. Thus the great stature of Bharata as recognized in tradition, is no exaggeration.

MATHURĀ AND JAINISM*

By

UMAKANT P. SHAH§

and

ERNEST BENDER§

The fact of Mathurā's active existence from the late centuries, B.C., to Gupta times is attested by archaeological remains, as well as by references to the city and its inhabitants in early Jaina canonical literature, dating over a period from the fourth century, B.C , to circa the fourth fifth centuries, A.D. In evaluating this evidence we follow, in general, the opinions of modern scholarship relating to the ages of the different Jaina canonical works. Commentators on the extant texts, whenever they quote a variant reading, give the variant according to the Council presided over by Nāgārjuna[1] in Valabhi in circa the early fourth century, A.D., thus indicating that, for the most part, the Jaina canon available to us today follows the text of the Mathurā Council[2] headed by Ārya Khandila (Skt. Skandila) in the fourth quarter of the fourth century, A D.

We learn from these data that Mathurā—also called Uttara-mahurā[3]—was the capital city of Sūraseṇa (Skt. Śūrasena), a country described as "āriya", that is, acceptable for sojourn by Jaina monks. According to the *Niśīthasūtra-cūrṇi*,[4] Mathurā was one of the 10 capital cities where kings could be crowned.

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[1] Daśavaikālika-cūrṇi [DaśCū.], Ratlam 1933), p. 204; Ācārāṅgacūrṇi [ĀcaCū.], Ratlam 1941, p. 207; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India (As Depicted in the Jain Canons)* [Jain, *Life*], Bombay 1947, p. 33 and fn. 5.

[2] Kalpasūtra-vṛtti (by Samayasundara) [KalpSam], Bombay and Surat 1939, p. 107; Nandisūtra-cūrṇi [NanCū.], Banaras 1966, p. 9; Nandisūtra-vṛtti (by Malayagiri) [NanM], Bombay 1924, p. 51; Nandisūtra-vṛtti (by Haribhadra) [NanH], Banaras 1966, p. 13; Albrecht Weber, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII. p. 282; U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* [Shah, *Studies*], Banaras 1955, pp. 110-11; S. B. Deo, *History of Jain Monachism* [*History*], Poona 1956, p. 20.

[3] Jain, *Life*, pp. 250-51, and fns. 17-20, p. 308f.; Prajñāpanā [Praj.], Bombay 1918-19, p. 37; Sūtrakṛtāṅga-vṛtti (by Śilāṅka) [Sūtsi.], Bombay 1917, p. 123; Sthānāṅga-vṛtti (by Abhayadeva) [SthA.], Bombay 1918-20, p. 479.

[4] Niśītha-cūrṇi [NiśCū.], Agra 1957-60, Vol II. p. 466.

The other cities were Campā, Varāṇasī, Hastināpura, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kāmpilya, Kauśāmbī, Mithilā and Rājagṛha. The *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* cites *Iṁdapura* (Skt. *Indrapura*) as another name for Mathurā : *mahurāe ceva bīyaṁ nāma iṁdapura ti.*[5]

A stūpa is recorded to have been erected in Mahurā by Jains, but claimed by Buddhists, culminating in a quarrel in which the latter were defeated.[6] The Kaṇkālī Ṭilā Stūpa of Mathurā[7] has yielded a large number of antiquities. Whether this dispute was over the ownership of that stūpa or over some other Jaina stūpa at Mathurā, we cannot say. That the Kaṇkālī Ṭilā Stūpa was known as the " Devanirmita-Stūpa " is fairly certain, because an inscription on the pedestal of a Jaina image from this very site reads : प्रतिमावो द्वे थुभे देवनिर्मिते " Two images were installed in the thūbhe devanirmite "—i.e., the Devanirmita-Stūpa; perhaps indicating that its origin was forgotten in circa the second century, A.D. Haribhadrāsūri, circa seventh century, A.D., called it " devanirmita," because he might not have known its origin or the name of the Jina to whom it was originally dedicated. Other canonical works like the *Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya* refer to it by this name. That there were five stūpas at Mathurā can be inferred from the Digambara tradition of the *Pañcastūpānvaya.*[8]

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[5] Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi [ĀvaCū], Ratlam 1928-29, pp. 192-93; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, Bhavnagar 1930, 31, Vol. I. pp. 10-11, indicates that Mathurā is different from Soriyanayara = Soriyanagara = Śauripura, as does the statement of Vol. II, p. 356, f., *that Soripura was founded by Sorī (Śaurī) of the Yadu-lineage*. This negates B. C. Law's statement : " The Jainas knew it as Sauripura or Sūryapura." See his *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris 1954, pp. 106-110. The reference to Śauryapura in the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra, *Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. 45, p. 112, may also refer to Śaurīpura and not to Mathurā.

[6] Vyavahārasūtra-bhāṣya [VyaBh.], Ahmedabad 1926-28, 5.27-28; Jain *Life*, p. 309 and fn. 488; Deo, *History*, pp. 100, 384.

[7] Bṛhatkalpasūtra-bhāṣya [BṛhKBh.], Bhavnagar 1933-38, 1942, Vol, V, gāthā 5824, Vol. VI. gāthā 6275; VyaBh. 5.27-28; *Āvaśyakasūtra-niryukti*, with commentary of Haribhadrasūri, [AvaN], Bombay 1916-17, Vol. I. p. 453; Shah, *Studies*, pp. 9, 12 and 1 and 2, p. 64 and fn. 1 : " The stūpa was called Devanirmitta, 'erected by gods', probably because the origin was forgotten or because it was erected by a famous artist called 'Deva', or because it was donated by a certain person called 'Deva'." See, also, Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa reference, below.

[8] Jain, *Life*, pp. 255, 309 and fns. 487-497; Shah, *Studies*, pp. 62 and fn. 5, p. 63 and fns. 1-5; A. Ghosh, ed., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, 3 vols., New Delhi 1974, Vol. I. pp. 7, 54 and 50. For Pañcastūpanikāya, see the *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. III. 2, p. 45; *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX-XXIII, p. 283, no. 2037;

Somadevasūri refers to Mathurā in his Yaśastilaka-campū of the tenth century, A.D. He relates the legend according to which a Jaina stūpa was erected to Vajrakumāra, son of Somadatta, during the reign of King Pūtikavāhana. Elsewhere, he refers to Urvilā, queen of Mathurā, who on the occasion of the Aṣṭānhikamahotsava would send out the rathayātrā of the Jina.[9]

In the Vividhatīrthakalpa,[10] a collection of kalpas or accounts of various Jaina tīrthas, composed by Jinaprabhasūri between 1307 and 1340, A.D., he tells of two Jaina monks visiting Mathurāpurī and staying in a park with the name " Bhūtaramaṇa-udyāna " during the era of the Jaina, Supārśvanātha. They converted the presiding deity of this park, Kuberā, to the Jaina Faith, who erected a stūpa at Mathurā for the Jaina Sangha's worship. The story proceeds to describe the stūpa. It was made of gold and studded with jewels with images of devas surrounding it. Equipped with a toraṇa (gateway) and dhvaja (banner), it was adorned with three mekhalās (railed-way), flanked, each, by images, and topped by a triple chatra (umbrella). The central image of the stūpa was that of Supārśvanātha. There arose a controversy over the ownership of the stūpa with members of other sects, such as Buddhists, Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavas. Through divine intervention the image was proven to be that of the Jina and his paṭa (painting on cloth) was carried through the city in a yātrā. The lavishly fashioned stūpa remained open to the air until the age of the Jina, Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jina, when a local king attempting to confiscate its treasures, was killed by the goddess Kūberā, who instructed the Jaina Sangh to brick over the stūpa and place a stone image of Pārśvanātha on its exterior. The Jainas were enjoined to worship the Jina in their homes and the practice of placing his image over the doorway was instituted. In V.S. 826, (769 A.D.), in accordance with the council of Bappabhaṭṭisūri, King Āma had the stūpa repaired and an image of Mahāvīra installed. Enhanced with a kūpa (well) or kuṇḍa (small tank) –indeed, a kuṇḍa close to the site of the stūpa near Kaṁkālīṭālā has been unearthed by Dr. M. C. Joshi and Dr. Margabandhu during their recent excavations and encircled with a walled grove, the stūpa was embellished with thousands of images, shrines, a beautiful gandhakuṭī (censer) and statues of Cillaṇiā (Cillanikā), Ambāī (Ambikā) and the Kṣetrapālas. Here are located five sthalas—arkasthala, vīrasthala, padmasthala, kuśasthala, and mahāsthala—

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and Nathuram Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, Bombay 1956 (rev. ed.), p. 497. Note also that Nirgrantha Śramaṇācārya Guhanandin of the Paharpur Copperplate Inscription, dated G.E. 159, is called " pañcastūpanikāyika ".

[9] K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka-campū and Indian Culture* [Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka*], Sholapur 1949, pp. 416-17; Yaśastilaka-campū of Somadeva [YaśC], Bombay 1901-03, II. p. 315, VI. 17-18.

[10] Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa [ViTK], Singhi Series No. 4, Bombay, pp. 17-18, o12

and twelve vanas-lohajaṁghāvana, madhuvana, bilvavana, tālavana, kumudavana, vṛndāvana, bhaṇḍīravana, khandīravana, kāmikavana, kolavana, bakulāvana and mahāvana. (Cf. the names of the sthalas and the vanas encountered in the Hindu purāṇas; cf., also, the five tīrtha-names mentioned by Jinaprabhasūri in this work—i.e., the laukikatīrthas : Viśrānti, Asikuṇḍa, Vaikuṇṭha, Kāliñjara and Cakratīrtha). The author adds that kṣamāśramaṇa, Jinabhadragaṇi, obtained the deteriorated manuscript of the Mahāniśīthasūtra and repaired the damaged folios; and that the god, Śakra, went to Bhūtagṛha, near Mathurā, for the elucidation of the nigoda by Ārya Rakṣitasūri whose successors, Vatsapuṣyamitra, Ghṛtapuṣyamitra and Durbalikāpuṣyamitra, also visited Mathurā. He mentions, also, the Mathurā Council convened by Ācārya Khaṇḍila. It would seem that the Jaina stūpa was still standing in Jinaprabhasūri's time. His Mathurāstūpastutayaḥ suggests this.

Mathurā also appears in Digambara accounts. Guṇabhadra in his Uttarapurāṇa, sarga 74, refers to Mahāvīra's previous birth as Vissanandī (Viśvanandī), son of Vissabhūti (Viśvabhūti) of Rājagṛha, in connection with Mathurā.[11]

Hariṣeṇa, in his Bṛhatkathākośa, story 2, describes Mathurā as adorned with lofty Jaina temples and abounding in cows (purīgodhanasaṁkulam). In story 12, he refers to the rathayātrā of Mathurā and the erection of the five Jaina stūpas after the defeat of the Buddhists.[12]

Other references locate at Mathurā a park by the name of Bhaṃḍīravadeṁsia (Bhaṇḍīravataṁsaka) visited by Pāsa (Pārśva [nātha]).[13] Here, too, was the shrine of the yakṣa, Sudaṁsaṇa (Sudarśana), to which people made pilgrimage—an indication, perhaps, of a thriving yakṣa-cult.[14]

To Mathurā, it is recorded, came Mahāvīra,[15] the twenty-fourth and last titthayara (tīrthaṁkara), during the reign of King Sirīdāma (Śrīdāman). Legend holds that, in a former birth, Mahāvīra, as Vissabhūi (Viśvabhūti), had met his death on the horns of a cow, having, prior to that, made a resolution (nidāna) to kill in a later existence his cousin, Visāhaṇaṁdi (Viśākhanandī), the son of the king of Rāyagiha (Rājagṛha).[16]

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[11] Uttarapurāṇa [UttP.], Banaras 1954; Indore V.S. 1975.

[12] Bṛhatkathākośa of Hariṣeṇa [BṛhH.], ed. by A. N. Upadhye, Singh Series No. 13, Bombay.

[13] Jñātādharmakathā [Jñā.], Bombay, 1980, 156.

[14] Jain *Life*, p. 219 and fn. 206, p. 222 and fn. 241; Shah, *Studies*, p. 8 Vipākasūtra [Vip.], Bombay 1920, 26; V. S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Fol Cults*, Banaras 1970, pp 184, 188 and 189.

[15] Vip. 26; Jain, *Life*, p. 309 and fn. 490.

[16] ĀvaN. 445-8; Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya [Viś.], Ratlam 1936, 1811-1 Samavāyāṅga [Sam.], Ratlam, 1918, 158; Tīrthodgārita [Tīr.], ms., L.I

It was in the Jauṇāvaṁka-garden (Yavunāvakra) that the Jauṇa (Yavana) king of Mathurā murdered the monk Daṁḍa, and, later on, himself become a monk.[17] Note, too, the didactic tale of the sāvaga (Śrāvaka), Jiṇadāsa whose two bulls, Kaṁbala and Sambala, observed the vratas along with him.[18]

Another name connected with Mathurā is that of the learned Ācārya Maṁgu whose greed for food resulted in his rebirth as a jakkha (yakṣa),[19] as contrasted with the skilled Goṭṭhāmāhila (Goṣṭhāmāhila), a disciple of the afore-mentioned Rakkhiya (Rakṣita), noted for his victory in debate over heretics (akkiyavāyī, akriyāvādin).[20]

From Mathurā, his birthplace, to Bāravaī (Dvāravatī), capital of Suraṭṭha (Surāṣṭra), fled the Dasārasīha Vāsudeva Kaṇha (Daśārhasiṁha Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa) in fear of Jarāsaṁdha whom he later killed.[21] From Mathurā went King Dhara,[22] invited to contend in the svayamvara of Dovaī (Draupadī), but to no avail, for she chose Juhiṭṭhilla, Bhīmaseṇa, Ajjuṇa Ṇaula and Sahadeva, better known, perhaps, as the five Pāṇḍavas, Yuddhiṣṭhira, Bhīmasena, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, the fruit of her nidāna of a previous birth.[23]

In Mathurā was born the prince Kālavesiya (Kālavaiśika) to King Jiyasattu (Jitaśatru) and his courtesan, Kālā. Kālavesiya, Jaina accounts record, became a monk who so little valued his body that it was eaten by a jackal at his sallekhanā on Mt. Muggasela (Mūdgaśaila).[24] Other natives of Mathurā are

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Institute, Ahmedabad, 605-9; ĀvaCū. I. pp. 230-3; Āvaśyaka-vṛtti (by Malayagiri) [AvaM.], Bombay 1928-36, 248-251; Bhaktaparijñā [BhK.], Bombay 1927, 137; Kalpasūtra-vṛtti (by Dharmasāgara) [KalpDh.], Bhavnagar 1922, p. 38; Samavāyāṅga-vṛtti (by Abhayadeva) [SamA.], Bombay 1918, p. 158.

[17] ĀvaN. 12977; ĀvaCū. II. p. 155; Maraṇasamādhi [Mar.], ms., L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad, 465; Saṁstāraka [Saṁs.], Bombay 1927, p. 61; Āvaśyaka-vṛtti (by Haribhadra) [ĀvaH.], Bombay 1916-17, p. 667; Bhagavatī-vṛtti (by Abhayadeva) [BhA], Bombay 1918-21, p. 491.

[18] Viś. 1925; ĀvaCū. I. pp. 280, 472; ĀvaN. 471; Kalpasūtra-vṛtti (by Vinayavijaya) [KalpV.] Bombay 1915, p 163.

[19] Niśīthasūtra-bhāṣya [NiśBh.], Agra 1957-60, 3200; NiśCū. II. p. 125.

[20] ĀvaCū. I. p. 412; Uttarādhyayana-vṛtti (by Śāntisūri) [UttŚ.], Bombay 1916, p. 173.

[21] DaśCū. p. 41; SthĀ. p. 255.

[22] Jñā. 1980, 17.

[23] Jñā. 120.

[24] Uttarādhyayana-cūrṇi [UttCū.], p. 77; UttŚ. p. 120; Mar. 448; Uttarādhyayana-niryukti [UttN], Bombay 1916, p. 120; VyaBh. 10.595; ĀcaCū. p. 112.

the princess, Nivvūī (Nirvṛti),[25] daughter of King Jiyasattu, King Saṁkha[26] who undertook the life of an ascetic, and the purohita, Iṁdadatta, who enjoyed the questionable distinction of having had one of his legs severed by a merchant of the town.[27]

The Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī[28] records that Mathurā was a great commercial center and from there merchants would go to conduct business in Dakkhiṇa Mahurā (Dakṣiṇa Mathurā), identified as present-day Madurai, and that one of the merchants had established family connections in that city.[29] The Ācārāṅga-cūrṇi[30] identifies Mathurā as a thalapaṭṭaṇa (sthala-pattana) where goods for trade were carried overland, while the Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya[31] observes that it was noted as a cloth-manufacturing center[32] and a business-center[32] whose inhabitants lived on trade and not on the cultivation of the land. This suggests that Jainism tended to recruit its followers from the middle and trading classes to form the organization of its Saṅgha (lay-people).[33]

We note, here, V. S. Agrawala's[34] remarks regarding the image of the yakṣa, Maṇibhadra, found in the Parkham village of Mathurā and dated to the third century, B.C. He observes that the Maṇibhadra Yakṣa was regarded as the presiding deity of caravan merchants—so attested, too, by the Mahābhārata. He considers the term " Mahāvīra " or " Senior Vīra, " i.e., the " Great Yakṣa," and suggests that the term " Mahāvīra " was adopted from the vocabulary of Bīr-worship. He goes on to quote the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa which lists " Maṇibhadra " and identifies the form " vīra " of the term " Pancavīra " with the word " yakṣa. "

J. C. Jain[35] refers to Mathurā as an important center of nāga-worship where a number of nāga-images have been recovered. (See above, where Pāsanāha (Pārśvanātha) is reported to have visited the city. Note, too, his association with serpents.)

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[25] ĀvanCū. I. p. 499; Viś. 1813; Sam. 158; Tīr. 608; Uttarādhyayana-vṛtti (by Kamalasaṁyama) [UttK.], p. 98; ĀvaH. p. 703.

[26] UttCū. p. 201; UttŚ p. 120; Mar, 448.

[27] Mar. 501; UttCū. p. 82; UttŚ. p. 125-26.

[28] Or Pāṇḍu Mahurā; ĀvaCū. 472f.; Moti Chandra, *Trade Routes in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 164 and fn. 52; Jain, *Life*, p. 114 and fn. 17.

[29] ĀvaCū. I. p. 472.

[30] ĀcaCū. 7, p. 281; UttŚ. p. 605; Jain, *Life*, p. 308.

[31] Jain. *Life*, p. 114 and fn. 16, p. 115 and fn. 29; Prakash Charan Prasad, *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, New Delhi 1977, p. 74 and fn. 3.

[32] See R. P. Kangle, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Bombay 1960-1972, 2.11.115: " Cotton fabrics from Madhurā, the Aparāntas, the Kaliṅgas, Kāśī, the Vaṅgas, the Vatsas and the Mahiṣas are the best. "

[33] Deo, *History*, pp. 133, 572.

[34] Agrawala, *Folk Cults*, pp. 184, 188, and 189.

[35] Jain, *Life* p. 21p and fn. 206.

The curtains of legend and half-legend have parted to reveal a city of great antiquity, its age earlier than the tradition recorded in the Jain canon.[36] Megasthenes (circa 300 B.C.), the Greek ambassador to the court of Candragupta, knew it as "Methora"[37] and Ptolemy lists it among the cities strung along the earlier trade-routes of the second century, A.D.[38]

Mathurā throve off the wealth which accumulated at the crossroad of the uttaravāha, the great caravan route, one of whose branches led westward to Taxila and beyond, a second to the east—to Patna (Pāṭaliputra/Palibothra) and Tamluk (Tāmralipti)—and a third, southward. to Ujjain (Ozene/Ujjayanī) and thence to Broach (Bhurukaccha/Barygaza) connecting the midland of India with the sea-trade along the Gulf of Cambay.[39]

The city continued to prosper under the Kuṣāṇas in a congenial atmosphere which attracted representatives of ancient cults, Jainism, Brāhmanism and Buddhism. A flourishing center for the arts, the wealth of its merchant class made possible the creation and maintenance of Jain monuments. From Mathurā sculptures and images were carried to places as Sanchi, Sarnath and farther on into Bengal.[40]

To characterize the value of Jaina literature we quote from Moti Chandra's *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India.*[41]

> "Jaina canonical literature, including the Aṅgas, Upāṅgas, Gāthās, Cūrṇis, and their commentaries, is full of interesting material, but..... it has not been studied very much. The chief reason for this is the non-availability of Jaina texts and the difficulty of the language which makes the interpretation difficult.....most of the Jaina literature has been published for the edification of the Jaina devotees... They have

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[36] Shah, *Studies* pp. 110f. for his observations regarding the features of the Aṣṭamaṅgalas discovered in the Mathurā finds and his dating them to the second century, B. C., See, also UttCū. p. 82.

[37] D. M. Mitra, "Mathurā" p 49 in Ghosh, *Jaina Art.*

[38] E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge 1928, p. 12; Moti Chandra, *Trade Routes* p. 76.

[39] Moti Chandra, *Trade Routes*, p. 5; Prasad, *Foreign Trade*, p. 74; D. Mitra, ' East India, " p. 49 in Ghosh, *Jain Art.*

[40] *Indian Art : A History of Indian Art from the Earliest Times to the Third Century, A. D.*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 216.

[41] Moti Chandra, *Trade Routes*, pp. 158f.

neither introduction or indices. They also lack linguistic notes which makes it difficult to understand the correct import of the texts. To trace any cultural reference in Jaina literature it is necessary to go through all of it. But if one [does] . . it becomes evident that without the study of Jaina literature the cultural history of India remains incomplete, because [it] . . throws light on certain aspects of Indian Culture which have not been mentioned either in Pāli or Sanskrit literature . . [or] . . references are very scanty. For example, let us take the topic of the Sārthavāha.[42] The Brahmanic Sanskrit literature, because of a difference in point of view, throws very limited light on the problem . . the Buddhist literature deals with the subject at some length though the story-element [predominates]. Therefore, it is difficult to [learn] from Buddhist literature in what kinds of goods the merchants traded and what was their organization . . Jaina literature believes in giving even the minutest details . . whatever subject it touches it describes in detail, unmindful whether such descriptions go well with the framework of the story. The Jaina monks were wanderers. . . . and, while travelling from place to place, they did not fail to observe the life of the people. Jainism was also chiefly the religion of merchants and, therefore, the Jaina literature has not failed to describe the various aspects of the life of their followers. Jaina monks, wherever they went, studied [the] geographical and social conditions and also the local language in order to preach. . . . Whatever . . . . their date. . . . the material preserved in them is ancient.

Jaina literature gives certain definitions about trade . . such definitions are not given in other literature. These definitions or stock descriptions inform us about the places where the goods were sold and that. . ., for the sale and purchase . . and for their transport, there were many markets and differences in the markets.[43] . the method of their travel was different. . . . They could stay only in a religious building, a hospice or in the workshop of a potter or ironsmith where they could sleep on a bed of straw[44] . . .

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[42] The caravan leader, see BṛhKBh. 1090, and fn. 46, below.

[43] E.g., jalapaṭṭana, "sea-port," sthalapaṭṭana 'inland market,' droṇamukha "market handling goods coming from the sea as well as the land," "nigama" a town where bankers operated, "saṁgrahika nigama" a town whose banking business was concerned with pledging goods and deposits, "asaṁgrahika nigama" a town whose business was not limited to the saṁgrahika, "niveśa" a caravan town or a town where caravans assembled."

[44] Ācārāṅga-sūtra [ĀcaS.], Bombay 1916, II. 3.1.8.

> Wherever they went, they thoroughly examined the people of the locality. This was known as janapadaparīkṣā . . In such towns they learnt many languages and dialects. . . Their disciples also gained experience.[45] . . . They made inquiries about different kinds of grains which a district produced and the kind of irrigation required. . . Monks examined in detail cities like Mathurā . . Whatever region they visited, they inquired about its extent, the local customs and manner. . . According to the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi,[46] the Jain monks were also adept in folklore and they made inquiries about chanda, vidhi, vikalpa and nepathya ".

The chapter goes on to report, among other topics, Jaina references to caravans and the pertinent terminology,[47] as well as the terminology of the sea trade.[48]

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[45] Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya [BṛhBh.], Ahmedabad 1916, 1227.

[46] ĀvaCū. 581 A and B; chanda "food, ornaments, etc.," vidhi "local customs," vikalpa "farming methods, household affairs, temple management, etc.," nepathya "local costumes."

[47] E.g., sārtha "caravan," bhaṇḍi sārtha "caravan carrying only goods," bahalika "[caravan] consisting of animals," bhāravāha "[caravan whose members] carried their own loads," audārika sārtha "caravan of wandering workers," kārpaṭika sārtha "caravan of monks and religious mendicants," vidhāna "goods carried by a caravan," gaṇima "goods which could be counted," dharima "goods which could be weighed," meya "goods which could be measured," paricchedya "goods which could be assessed visually," anuraṅga "a draft vehicle," yānā "a litter," sārthavāha "caravan leader," kṣetrataḥ pariśuddha "[a caravan which] covered a distance [suitable for ancients and children]," kālataḥ pariśuddha "[a caravan] starting before sunrise," bhāvataḥ pariśuddha "[a caravan] supplying food to monks of all denominations."

[48] E.g., prācīna vāta "easterly wind," udīcīna vāta "northerly wind," dākṣiṇātya vāta "southerly wind," sattvasuka "wind blowing in all directions," apara-dakṣiṇa-bījāpa "wind blowing from the southwest," apara-bījāpa "westerly wind" aparottara garjabh "northwesterly storm," kālikāvāta "cyclone," asthika "small boat."

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

૧ વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

૨ **લવાજમ :**

—ભારતમાં...રૂા. ૨૦ = ૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)
—પરદેશમાં : યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)
—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

૩ આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષથી શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા વૉલ્યુમ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. ‘ડાયરેક્ટર, ઑરિયેન્ટલ ઇન્સ્ટિટ્યુટ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨’ એ સરનામે મોકલવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે.

૪ **જાહેરાતો :**

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—
સંપાદક, ‘સ્વાધ્યાય’, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મંદિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

૫ **લેખકોને વિજ્ઞપ્તિ :**

‘સ્વાધ્યાય’માં પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવા માટે, પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા લેખકોને વિનંતી છે; શકય હોય તો લેખ ટાઈપ કરી મોકલવા જરૂરી છે. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણેથી જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૬ ‘સ્વાધ્યાય’માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કોપીરાઈટ મ. સ. યુનીવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખીત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર,
મ. સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ,
વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

રામકૃષ્ણ તુ. વ્યાસ
સંપાદક

KAUṬILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA III. 5.28-A REAPPRAISAL

By

S. G. Moghe*

The students of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* know it very well that incidentally in the course of his discussion, Kauṭilya has touched upon the aspect of inheritance in connection with the property of an heirless person. In the present passage, which is under discussion, the question of inheritance is involved. It should be noted in the present context, that the scholars of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* have completely neglected the importance of the vast Dharma Śāstra literature in interpreting the text of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. Hence in the light of the authorities of the smṛtis and digest authors and the commentators of the Smṛti literature, an attempt is made in the present paper, to offer an interpretation of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* III. 5.28, only after properly evaluating the interpretations of the predecessors in the field.

The passage under discussion can be quoted in full from the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* III. 5.28 as follows :—

अदायादकं राजा हरेत् स्त्रीवृत्तिप्रेतकार्यवर्जम् , अन्यत्र श्रोत्रियद्रव्यात् ।

Prof. R. Sham Shastri translates this passage as follows :—

'Property for which no claimant is found (*adāyikam*) shall go to the king, except the property of a woman of a dead man for whom no funeral rites have been performed.' (Translation p. 205).

One may recall here the remarks of MM. Dr. P. V. Kane in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. III p. 763 indicating the inaccurateness of the said translation.

Profesor R. P. Kangle translates the above passage under discussion as follows :—

'The king shall take that to which there are no heirs, excluding the inheritance of the wife and that what is needed for funeral rites, with the exception of the property of a brahmin learned in the Vedas. (*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra Part II*. p. 211).

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Here the question arises as regards the exact interpretation of the expressio ‘*strīvṛtti*’ in the text of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.*

From the translation of R. Sham Shastri, it is evident that his translatio of the expression ‘*strī*’ as woman is rather vague.

The translation offered by Prof. Kangle simply shows that the expressio ‘*strīvṛtti*’ refers to the maintenance of a wife. In his foot-note on the abov translation, he significantly remarks that *strīvṛtti*—only the wife seems mean (*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra-Part* II. p. 211).

A good student of Dharma-Śāstra and *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* is bound to b confused by the two different explanations offered by the two accepted authoritie of the subject.

With due deference to the above mentioned accredited masters of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, the present author is constrained to express his diagreement with them. For this diagreement, the present author would like to draw the attention of the serious students of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* to the following evidence :—

I. If one casually consults the Sanskrit dramatic literature[1] for the use and usage of the expression ‘*strī*’ in the Sanskrit dramatic literature, one would be convinced that this word is never understood in the sense of a wife. To illustrate the truth of this remark, I would like to draw the attention of the readers to the *Śākuntalam* V. 22, *Uttara-Rāma—Caritam* Act I and the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* Act. I. st. 20. All these places and even other places in the literature clearly indicate that the word *strī* is never taken in the sense of a wife.

II. Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyi* IV.1.33 has a special *Sūtra* which runs as ‘*patyurno yajñasaṁyoge.*’ Pāṇini thereby suggests that one who sits by the side of a husband, particularly at the time of a sacrifice, alone deserves to be called a wife. If, however, this Pāṇinian concept is applied to the present passage one would easily realise that there is a vast difference in understanding the tw words—*patnī* and *strī.*

III. Besides, Śākaṭāyana's *Uṇādi Sūtra*[2] 606 is also not of much use to to know any special significance at the back of the word *strī* that is used Kauṭilya.

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[1] स्त्रीणामशिक्षितपटुत्वममानुषीषु
संदृश्यते किमुत याः प्रतिबोधवत्यः । शाकुन्तल Act. V. 87.22.
Also see सर्वथा व्यवहर्तव्यं कुतो ह्यवचनीयता ।
यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः ॥
उत्तररामचरितम्—Act. I.

[2] स्त्यायतेर्ड्रट् । उणादिसूत्र. 606.

IV. If, however, one consults the Sanskrit[3] dictionary, one finds that there are many other parallel words for the word *strī* in which, however, there is no mention of the word *patnī*. This fact further supports my contention that in understanding the two terms—*strī* and *patnī*—the writers on Sanskrit dictionary make a distinction.

V. It would be necessary to consider in this respect the evidence of Dharma-Śāstra authors.

(i) Vijñāneśvara in his *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II.135-36 quotes the texts of Kātyāyana[4] and Nārada[5] and suggests[6] that the words—*strī* and *yoṣit*—in these two texts refer to an *Avaruddhā-strī*. In simple English, *Avaruddhā strī* indicates that this is a reference to a kept woman or a concubine. At times, a man keeps another woman, in addition to his regular wife, in the same house or he keeps her at some other place. It is further laid down that an *Avaruddhā strī* is supposed to remain faithful to that person only and she is not supposed to keep any connection with any other person other than a person whose keep she remains. For a fuller discussion on the term '*Avaruddhā*', attention may be drawn to MM. Dr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. III pp. 811-814 and also Volume II Part I p. 639.

(ii) Even Mādhavācārya[7] in his gloss on the *Parāśara Smṛti* Vol. III p. 359 holds the same view. The same view is further upheld by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa in his *Subodhinī*[8] on the *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* p. 66.

(iii) If, however, one consults Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā Vyavahāra-Kāṇḍa*[9] Part II p. 698, one would realise that it simply shows that ladies who do not belong to a brāhmaṇa community are not entitled to have any share in the property. This explanation runs counter to the explanation that is given by the other writers on Dharma-Śāstra.

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[3] स्त्री योषिदबला योषा नारी सीमन्तिनी वधूः । अमरकोश.

[4] अदायिकं राजगामि योषिद् भृत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ।
अपास्य श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं श्रोत्रियेभ्यस्तदर्पयेत ॥
कात्यायन स्मृति quoted in मिताक्षरा on याज्ञवल्क्य-स्मृति II. 135. p. 241.

[5] अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् किंचिद्राजा धर्मपरायणः ।
तत् स्त्रीणां जीवनं दद्यादेष दायविधिः स्मृतिः ॥
नारद स्मृति quoted in मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ॰ स्मृति II. 135. Ibid p. 241.

[6] Also See मिताक्षरा on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति II. 135-36 p. 241.

[7] तदुभयमप्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयम्, पत्नीशब्दाश्रवणात् ।
पराशर-माधव Vol. III. p. 359.

[8] एतदप्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयमिति । सुबोधिनी p. 66.

[9] तत्र स्त्रीणां ब्राह्मणेतरधनस्वामिस्त्रीणां धनभागित्वानर्हाणामित्यर्थः । स्मृतिचंद्रिका-व्यवहारकाण्ड Part II, p. 698.

(iv) Aparārka[10] on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* p. 747 holds that the word *stri* refers to the women who are unmarried or rather wanton ladies or the *punarbhū* by the expression in the text.

(v) Nīlakaṇṭha,[11] however, in his *Vyavahāra-Mayūkha* p. 139 significantly remarks that the expression *strī* refers to the *Avaruddhā* woman since there is the absence of the word *patnī* in the text.

From this evidence, it goes without saying that the word *strī* has a reference to a woman who is *Avaruddhā* and not to a legally married wife. This appears to be the view-point of the majority of writers on the Dharma-Śāstra, to the exception of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, the celebrated author of *Smṛticandrikā*.

(vi) If, however, one considers the expression '*adāyādakam*' in the text of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, one would realise that Kauṭilya has not in view a wife by the expression *strī*. It is a generally accepted convention that a wife is always regarded as an heir to the property of a deceased husband. Had Kauṭilya meant that the wife is intended to be an heir to the property of a dead person, he would not have used the expression '*adāyikam.*' The very fact that Kauṭilya has used the expression *strī* in the text, clearly goes to show that this refers to a woman other than a wife.

(vii) One would be surprised to note that even during the British regime, the right of a kept woman or a concubine to the property of a person who has left no heir—is recognised and this important point is noted by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane in his '*History*[12] *of Dharma—Śāstra*'.

In the light of the above discussion, one feels to express the view that by the expression *strī* in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* III. 5. 28 a reference is intended to be stressed on an *Avarudhā*— i.e. a kept woman and not to a married wife.

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[10] तत् स्त्रीणामपरिणीतानां स्वैरिणीनां वा पुनर्भ्वां वा ।
अपरार्क on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति p. 747.

[11] तदवरुद्धस्त्रीपरम् । पत्नीपदाश्रवणात् । व्यवहारमयूख p. 139.

[12] Bai Nagubai VS. Bai Monghibai LR 53 I.A. 153 = 30 Bom. Law 604. Also See. MM. P. V. Kane — *History of Dharma-Śāstra*- Vol. II Part I. p. 639.

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MONITORING UNDERGROUND WATER RESOURCES AS DESCRIBED IN THE BṚHAT SAṀHITĀ (6th century A.D.) OF VARĀHAMIHIRA*

By

B. J. SANDESARA†

Water is life. A synonym of water in Sanskrit is *Jīvana* (' life '). That is the main reason why civilizations in early history have always flourished on the banks of the rivers; rivers are considered sacred and worshipped as goddesses. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, an eminent scholar, thinker and writer of modern India, has described the rivers as Lokamātā (' mothers of the people ') and has written a very charming book in Gujarati on the rivers of India with the appropriate title *Lokamātā*. It is apposite to note here that the scientists and thinkers of Ancient India have given sufficient thought to this vital resource for the sustenance of life and culture.

The per capita consumption of water is a vital index of the prosperity of a country and the quality of life. If this index has to be raised, the easily available groundwater needs to be tapped on a large scale. Efforts are, therefore, in progress in several countries, including India, to tap groundwater on large scale using modern techniques, computers and satellites.

But it is necessary to be cautious about the hydrological balance and pollution aspects of groundwater because recent studies show that it should not be considered an entity separate from surface waters. Ignorance of this fact can cause serious health and ecological problems. It is, therefore, better to understand how groundwater comes into being.

The entire crust of earth is more or less like a sponge filled with water. Drill a hole somewhere, and one is bound to get water sooner or later. Whether it is rain water, snow, or other forms of precipitation, water following a path of least resistance filters down through cracks in rocks and porous soil until it reaches a layer of rock which is impervious. Then depending upon the slope of the rock, water flows, sometimes eroding the rocks that come in the way but more often following centuries old channels already in existence.

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Often, water eventually gets stored in huge tank-like structure under the ground, called " Aquefiers ". Sometimes water eventually emerges from the surface in form of a stream, spring or geyser. Obviously, when water emerges from the ground, its level in the underground channels and acquifiers, called " Water table " falls down. Conversely, when water does not emerge from ground or is not artificially pumped out, the water table in the area goes on rising as long as water continues to percolate down from the surface.

Although groundwater is generally clear and colourless with little or no suspended matter, it contains some minerals, chemicals and dissolved gases. In fact, the contents of a groundwater source depends upon the layer of rocks through which water has percolated down to the source. Moreover, it is often free from any harmful micro-organisms due to the non-availibility of nourishment for them as the water slowly percolates down through rocks. Be that as it may, groundwater sources and acquifiers are natural water reservoirs free from the problems of silt, weeds and evaporation and can supply water right at the spot. Naturally, if this groundwater, which forms more than 97 per cent of fresh water on earth can be tapped on a large scale, not only for drinking but also for growing vegetables, fruits, crops and for various purposes in industry, it would be a big boost to the economy of any country.

According to the Central Ground Water Board, the apex national body in India for groundwater surveys and developmental schemes, groundwater is at present meeting about 40 per cent of the total water requirements for irrigation of crops in the country. The recently established National Remote Sensing Agency, Hyderabad, has also been receiving photos from the U.S. LANDSAT satellites for the last few years and conducting aerial surveys through four modified air-craft. To date, such aerial and satellite studies have been conducted in some regions of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

Once groundwater sources have been detected, wells or tubewells are drilled and water can be had for the asking. When a well is built the only care that had to be taken is that it is located at an elevated site and its easing is tight right down to the source of groundwater. This is to ensure that contaminated water from nearby privies, cesspools and sewer mouths does not enter the groundwater source. In recent years, it has however been observed that rain is not the only source for groundwater. Industrial wastes dumped in isolated area or released into surface waters, water seeping in the earth from an irrigation canal, water from irrigated fields containing fertilizers and pesticides, coastal sea water, etc. also percolate down the surface of earth and enter a groundwater source.

As microbes in the soil cannot digest some of these man-made chemicals and rocks cannot filter them, the groundwater source is virtually polluted. This has been observed, for instance, in some villages of Faridabad due to industries in Delhi and its neighbourhood. Also, the quality of groundwater in Ghagger basin has been deteriorating in the last two decades since the Bhakra canal system has come into operation.

Over-exploitation of groundwater can also cause serious problems. In the eastern plains of Punjab, an increase in trend for growing paddy crops and also number of crops has led to withdrawal of more groundwater from a source than it could recover during the period. The water table in the region has fallen so low that it would become no more an economical source in the near future. A few years ago Pushkar Lake, a holy place for pilgrimage, had almost dried up due to similar reasons.

In the coastal areas of Southern Saurashtra—in towns like Mangrol, Chorwad and Sharadagram (an educational centre) the water is delicious and beneficial to crops, but over-exploitation of underground water has resulted into salt water of sea coming under the fertile coastal tract and a great danger has arisen to crops and to variety of fruits and vegetables grown in the *Nāgher* area which is considered to be the garden of Saurashtra.

Moreover, one side-effect of excessive withdrawal of groundwater is the subsidence of the land above it. Although such subsidence of land has yet not been reported in India, in Houston, U.S.A., a large tract of land has been found to be subsiding due to overdraft of groundwater. This phenomenon is particularly dangerous to cities, towns and villages near seas, rivers, etc. because floods become a re-ocurring affair then.

Scientists in ancient India have done a lot of work on underground water-resources and some of them have described in details how to monitor underground water.[1] Chief among them is the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* ('a great collection') of Varāhamihira, an encyclopaedic Sanskrit work composed in the 6th cent. A.D.

Varāhamihira was the son of Ādityadāsa of Ujjain. His *Bṛhatasaṁhitā* deals with an extraordinary variety of subjects of exceptional interest and value. Al Biruni, the great Arabian scholar who translated Varāhamihira's *Laghujātaka*, a work on astrology, into Arabic, praises the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* for its richness of details. The *Bṛhatasaṁhitā* contains important astronomical data, geographical details, Architecture, Sculpture, medicine, Psychology, Physiology, Physiognomy,

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[1] H. H. Jamsaheb of Jamnagar, the ruler of a native state in Saurashtra, always sought the help and assistance of a Brahmin known as Pāṇīkaḷā ('diviner of underground water') Mahārāja about four decades back, for monitoring underground water. Of course, scientific method used by the said gentleman is never published, but it may be a continuation in some form of the lore contained in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.

Botany, Zoology, Prosody, figures of speech and other subjects. This is a uniq work in the vast variety of Sanskrit literature.

Varāhamihira belongs to the galaxy of first rate scholars in Astronomy lik Āryabhaṭa, Brahmagupta and Bhāskara. Āryabhaṭa was his predecessor, whil the other two are posterior to him.

However, Varāhamihira does not claim to be a pioneer in the field o Saṁhitā Before him Pasāśara, Garga and others had composed Saṁhitās. H quotes a number of authorities in addition to Parāśara and Garga—Vṛddha Garg Kaśyapa, Nārada, Pitāmaha Siddhānta, Saura Siddhānta, Romaka Siddhānt Pauliśa Siddhānta, Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta, Viṣṇugupta, Asita, Devala, Ṛṣiputr Śukra (Bṛgu or Uśanas), Maya, Bṛhaspati, Śaka, Garutman, Saptarṣi, Bādar yaṇa, Nāgnajit, Sārasvata, Savitṛa, (a work), Manu, Viśvakarman, Vajra, Ś Dravyavardhana, Bhāradvāja, Kapila and Kaṇabhuk. In some of his other work Varāhamihira has quoted the following—Satyācārya or Bhadatta, Maniṭṭha Devasvāmin, Siddhasena,[2] Yavanācārya, Jīvaśarman, Lāṭācārya,[3] Siṁhācāry and Āryabhaṭa.

Out of these authorities quoted by Varāhamihira, Asita was a great astronomer and astrologer who cast the horoscope of the Buddha, according to Hientsang. Kaśyapa may be the ancient sage to whom the Kaśyasaṁhitā, a work on Āyurveda, discovered from the Bir Library at Kathmandu, Nepal, is ascribed.

From the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* it appears that Varāhamihira had already compose two of his important works, viz, *Pañcasiddhāntīkā* and *Bṛhajjātaka* (I. 10 According to him *horā* should treat of horoscopy, questions about auspiciou journey and marriage. The *Pañcasiddhāntikā* has been published by Thibaut i 1888. Varāhamihira had composed two other voluminous works — *Bṛhat Yāt* and *Bṛhat Vivāhapaṭala*. He prepared condensed versions of all the three — vi *Svalpajātaka*, was most famous and was commented upon by Bhaṭṭa Utpala. I reference we know that it was also commented upon by one Mahīdhara and Biruni mentions a commentary on it by Balabhadra. Only two chapters *Laghu-Jātaka* are available. The *Yātrā*, according to Utpala, contains chapters. A manuscript now available has only 7 chapters and goes under t name *Yogayātrā*. It may be *Laghu-yātra*.

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[2] This may be Siddhasena Dīvākara, a great Brahmin scholar who la on became a Jaina monk. Pt. Sukhalalji, in his Introduction (pp. 35-43) to t *Sanmatitarka* of Siddhasena, assigns him to 5th century of the Vikram era.

[3] Lāṭācārya was a Jaina pontiff and his name shows that he hailed fr Lāṭa, South Gujarat. Lāṭācārya is referred to in the *Bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhat Kal sūtra* and also in the *Cūrṇi* of the *Niśītha Sūtra*, and hence is definitely ear than Varāhmihira (Sandesara, *Jaina Āgamasāhityamāṅ Gujarat*—in Guja pp. 162-63).

The *Vivāhapaṭala* is ascribed to Vindhyavāsī. But according to a tradition, he was Varāhamihira himself, because he was living in the Vindhya forest before he went to a royal court. His *Samāsasaṁhita* is known only from the quotations given by the commentator.

Varāhamihira's son Pṛthuyaśas was also an eminent astrologer. He has written *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* and *Horāsāra*.

Bhaṭṭa Utpala has written an exhaustive commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. It gives copious quotations from eminent ancient authorities and from several works by the author which are not extant now. His commentary on the *Bṛhat-Jātaka* was completed on Thursday, the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in 888 of the Śaka era—that is, 955 A.D.

The 54th chapter of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* is entitled *Dakārgalam* and deals with the exploration of underground water resources. *Daka* is derived from Skt. *Udaka* ('water') by aphesis and *Argala*, is a bolt for fastening the door (Āgaḷo in Gujarati) and hence the expression *Dakārgala* can be taken to mean "(opening) of the bolts of the water-springs".

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* was studied by some scholars of Classical Sanskrit and a few astronomers and the attention of the Geologists and Hydrologists was not drawn to it. Fortyfive years back, in the Marathi bi-weekly *Kesarī* founded by Lokamanya Bal Gangadhara Tilaka (and then edited by Mr. J. S. Karandikar) I read a brief article on " Water Exploration by Varāmihira ' by Mr. Narahari Gangadhar Apte, B.Ag. The article was printed in *Kesarī* dated January 21, 1936. I was a working journalist, then, at Ahmedabad and made some notes from Mr. Apte's article. Mr. Apte should be, legitimately, called the pioneer in the study of Varāhamihira's work for underground water-exploration.

I am neither a Geologist nor Hydrologist nor a student of agriculture. However, I will give a summary of the 54th chapter of the *Bṛhatasaṁhitā* from the view-point of a student of Indian culture interested in the history of science.

The chapter under consideration has 125 verses in all. The first five verses are by way of Introduction. 56 verses describe how to monitor underground water from the various types of vegetation on the surface. For some section of his treatise Varāhamihira gives credit to an earlier Ācārya called Mānava. In the last—125th verse he respectfully mentions the opinion of Baladeva, which shows that the water-exploration was done by some earlier scientists who are venerated by Varāhamihira. The verse 123 prescribes that the sinking of wells should be done in particular *Nakṣatras* or constellations which are considered propitious.

There is no doubt that the treatise is based on scientific observation and experience of digging of wells in places having a plenty of rainfall as well as arid or semi-arid zones. The depth of the water-level is measured by *Puruṣa* or man's height which is traditionally considered to be 120 digits (or fingers) or 5 cubi (one cubit equal to 18 to 22 inches). The shallow well is only four and a ha *puruṣas* deep, while wells in arid zones are as deep as 25 *puruṣas*. But normal dep of water-level is given as three, five and seven *puruṣas* which comes to 22, 38 a 53 feet, respectively.

What Varāhamihira has said in the 54th chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* borne out by modern scientists. He says that rain-water is pure and clean, b gets different colours and smell after falling on the ground. The 54th chapter preceded by the chapter on *Vāstu Vidyā* or house-building, which shows that th author is seized with the problem of supplying potable water for inmates the house.

Varāhamihira has dealt with underground veins of water. The correctnes of Varāhamihira's statements is borne out by modern Geologists and Hydro logists. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* has laid down three scientific principles.

(1) The water-level is high or low proportionate to annual rain-fall.

(2) The water in well, step-well or tank is rain-water collected afte seepage from different types of soil.

(3) Underground water flows through cracks or splits in the soil.

It should be noted that these principles are established more than 1500 year back by Indian scientists.

Now let us go in some of the contents of the Saṁhitā. There are two clea sections in the 54th chapter. One section bears the stamp of Sārasvata Muni' opinion, while the other section expounds the theory of Mānava Muni.

Sārasvata Muni's statements are based on Botany and Entomology. Ex istence of profuse water underground or paucity of it is based on the existence o certain trees on the surface, the details of which are given in the original tex Sārasvata Muni has based some of his conclusions on Zoology. If there is a ant-hill or there are frogs, serpents and lizards on the surface or undergroun there is a fair likelihood of finding water, as these insects, animals and reptil are always in search of water and their existence shows nearness of water.

Geological observation of Sārasvata Muni is not as detailed as that Mānava Muni. Mānava Muni gives the description of different kinds and colo of underground stones and gives his conclusion regarding the existence of wa He says (verses 100-102)—" a water-vein will be found at depth of 15 cubits a place where trees and shrubs are smooth and densely covered with leav where lotus, Gokṣura, Uśīra and Kula or Gundhra grass, Kuśa, Darbha, Nāl or Nala grows; where date-trees, Jambu, Arjuna and Vetasa or milky tre shrubs and creepers or mushrooms, Hastikarṇa, Nāgakeśara, lotus, Kadam Karaja and Sinduvāra trees grow or where there is Vibhītaka or Madayant there is water at 15 cubits. So also in place where there is a mountain at the foot of the lower mountain or upper mountain." He further adds (verses 106-9)—" A piece of earth that has the colour of the Sun, fire, ashes, camel or donkey is declared to be waterless. Where bamboo-sproutes are red and milky and the earth is red, there water is underneath a stone. Also a stone or rock that resembles beryl, green gram, cloud, dark gem, ripe fig, bee or collyrium or is brown, has got abundant water nearby. A rock which resembles in colour a pigeon, honey, ghee, silken cloth or some creeper, soon yields inexhaustible water. A rock that is filled with red or variegated spots, that is pale white or has colour of ashes, camels, donkeys, the Sun, fire, bee or the flower of Aṅguṣṭika creeper is without any water nearby".

If we compare the views of both the earlier Ācāryas—Sārasvata Muni and Mānava Muni—it is apparent that Sārasvata Muni was more of a Botanist and Zoologist. This does not mean that he had not studied sufficiently the problem of underground water-resources. What I mean to emphasize is the fact that he was a better scholar of both the above-mentioned sciences. For Mānava Muni, Geology was his forte, while Zoology and Botany were ancillary.

Varāhamihira has studied all the three sciences, co-related the findings of Sārasvata Muni and Mānava Muni and has composed a new monograph on underground water-resources entitled *Dakārgala*. This is his original contribution to the science of Hydrology and though composed about 1500 years ago is still useful for further exploration and intensive scientific research. There was no modern technique and neither computers and satellites to tap ground water in those days. In the circumstances the pioneering work done by Varāhamihira and his distinguished predecessors—to whom he has referred with admiration and respect—deserve due credit. The climate of different regions of India must have changed to some extent on account of geological changes and extensives deforestation; hence the findings of Varāhamihira may have to be moderated to a certain extent. However, his main conclusions can stand the test of time, in my opinion. It is upto the modern Geologists and Hydrologists to do further work and establish if Varāhamihira and his predecessors were path-finders in this important field of knowledge and if so, put before the world the scientific achievements of Ancient India not only in this particular domain, but also in many other diverse areas of scientific knowledge.

I would like to conclude this paper quoting two introductory verses of *Dakārgala* section, as they throw sufficient light on the aims and objectives of Varāhamihira in composing this Chapter—

Dharmyaṁ Yaśasyam ca Vadāmyatoham
Dakārgalam Yena Jalopalabhdhiḥ /
Puṁsām Yathāṅgeṣu śirāḥ tathaiva
Kṣitau api pronnatanimnasaṁsthāḥ //

" I shall now speak about the science of water-exploration which leads to religious merit and fame, because it enables the man to ascertain the availability of water. Just as there are veins in the human body, even so do they exist—some high up, others lower down—in the earth ".

Ekena varṇena rasena cāmbhaḥ /
Cyutam nabhastaḥ vasudhāviśeṣāt //
Nānārasatvam bahuvarṇatām ca
Gatam parīkṣyam kṣititulyam eva //

" The water that falls from the sky with same colour and taste, assumes various tastes and colours owing to difference in the nature of earth. Hence it is examined in relation to its environment ".

The last—125th verse of the Dakārgala reads—

Meghodbhavam prathamameva mayā pradiṣṭam /
Jyeṣṭhāmatītya Baladevamatādi dṛṣṭvā //
Bhaumam dakārgalam idam kathitam dvitīyam
Samyag Varāhamihireṇa muniprasādāt //

" Having viewed the opinions of Baladeva and others, I have first shown the topic of water derived from the clouds after full moon in the month of Jyeṣṭha.[4] This second method of exploring water from the earth has been properly treated by me, Varāhamihira, by the favour of the (earlier) sages ".

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[4] In the twenty third chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, viz. *Pravarṣaṇādhyāya* (' the chapter on rainfall ') Varāhamihira has dealt with the quantity and measurement of rainfall, which speaks for the competence of Hydrologists of Ancient India. I will quote here only the first two verses as an illustration –

Jaiṣṭhyām samatītāyām pūrvāṣāḍhādi sampravṛṣṭena/
Śubhamaśubham vā vācyam parimāṇam ca ambhasaḥ tajnaiḥ//

" If there is rain in the constellation commencing with Pūrvāṣāḍhā after the full moon in the month of Jyeṣṭha, the experts should judge the quantity and good and bad effects of the rain ".

(Here Varāhamihira has quoted an opinion of Garga on this point.)

Hastaviśālam Kuṇḍakam adhikṛtya ambupramāṇanirdeśaḥ/
Pañcāśatpalam āḍhakam anena minuyāt jalam patitam//

" The quantity of the rainfall should be determined through a gauge whose diameter is one cubit, and when it contains 50 *palas* (A *pala* is a measure equal to weight of four *tolas* or 46.5 gm.), it will be equal to one Āḍhaka ".

Here the author has quoted from his earlier work, *Samāsasaṁhitā* and has devoted the rest of the chapter (10 verses in all) to the measurement of rain.

SOME EARLY LITERARY REFERENCES TO THE RĀVAṆAHASTA

By

H. C. BHAYANI*

The following few notes are meant to supplement the historical information about the stringed musical instrument called Rāvaṇahasta given by Joep Bor.[1] Incidentally they also will suggest some modification of Bor's observations on the subject.

The Myth of the Origin

In the Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa, Vāli, a Vidyādhara ascetic, substitutes Lord Śiva in the episode of the lifting of Mount Kailāsa by Rāvaṇa. According to Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya*, the earliest available Jain Rāmāyaṇa, the chastened Rāvaṇa apologized to Vāli and went to the near-by temples to offer worship to the Jinas. He cut open his arm, drew out the sinews, which he used as strings for the Vīṇā he fashioned and played upon to accompany the hymn he started to sing in praise of the Jinas (*Paumacariya*, IX, 87-89). The date of the *Paumacariya*, is a matter of controversy, but it cannot be later than the sixth century. Accordingly it presents a version which is earlier than that we find in the poems of the Southern *Śaivaite* saints.[2] Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, a Sanskrit recast of Vimalasūri's poem dated 677 A.D., and Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, dated 12th cent. A.D., refer to the Vīṇā fashioned by Rāvaṇa on this occasion as *bhuja-vīṇā*.[3]

Svayambhū's *Paumacariya* is an Apabhraṁśa epic having Raviṣeṇa's poem as one of its sources. It is assigned to the fourth quarter of the ninth century. In its version of the episode of Rāvaṇa's chastisement by Vāli, it describes the worship of the Jinas performed by Rāvaṇa with the following details of Rāvaṇa's musical performance on the occasion :

After offering the worship Rāvaṇa began to sing sweet, enchanting music which had the seven notes, Ṣaḍja, Ṛṣabha, Gandhāra, Madhyama, Pañcama, Dhaivata and Niṣāda; which was marked by Mūrchanā, Krama, Kampa and the

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[1] The Voice of the Sarangi, pp. 40-47.

[2] The Voice of the Sarangi, p. 43.

[3] *Padmapurāṇa*, IX, 176; *Triṣaṣṭi* VII, ii. 267. See also Bulcke, pp. 643-644.

three Grāmas; *which had the accompaniment of the Rāvaṇahastaka*; which had Alaṅkāras, sweetness of notes, aesthetic charm and sophistication; which had the ascending scale, the descending scale, Sthāyin and Sañcārin; which was characterized by Tilaka (melody), lower and upper octaves, Tānas and smooth melodiousness; which was like a bow in that it was endowed with *jīva* (i.e. 1. bowstring, 2. the dominant note).[4]

Two things are noteworthy in this account. Firstly, the instrument providing accompaniment to Rāvaṇa's vocal recital, which was called Vīṇā in the earlier sources (which have been also followed in this matter by some later accounts), is called Rāvaṇahastaka the name obviously derives from the myth of the instrument's creation. Secondly the music offered is not some sort of folk-music. It is rather highly cultured and sophisticated music, the same type that has been codified in musicological texts. This means that this Rāvaṇahastaka of the ninth century had already secured a place in the elitist music.[5]

In another passage of the same text, describing similarly Rāvaṇa worshipping the Jina, the former is described as singing a Maṇgala song[6] while playing on the Rāvaṇahastaka (LXXI, vi. 18). In this description of the festival of Jina-worship the following traditional list of musical instruments is given : Mukunda, Nandi, Mardala, Huḍukkā, Ḍhakkā, Kāhalā, Ruñjā, Bherī, Jhallarī, Daḍikkā, Pāṇi-kartarī, Dardura, Tāla, Śaṅkha, Daunḍa, Ḍakka, Ṭaṭṭarī, Jhuṇakka, Bhambhā, Jhiṁkirī, Vavvīsa, Vaṁśa, Kāṁsyikā, Trisarī, Vīṇā and Pāvikā.

Svayambhū (and following him, Rājaśekhara and Hemacandra) have defined in their manuals of prosody an Apabhraṁśa metre called Rāvaṇahastaka. It is of the Antarasamā Catuṣpadī type, with each of its half containing 7 + 13 Mātrās. The metre was generally used for the Ghattā (i.e. the concluding piece) of a Kaḍavaka (i.e. a verse paragraph) of an Apabhraṁśa Sandhibandha (i.e. an epic poem).[7] From the illustration of the Rāvaṇahastaka metre given by Svayambhū, it however appears that the metre was also used for the Dhruvās in the drama. The fact that a particular Apabhraṁśa metre is called Rāvaṇahatthaya presupposes possibly two things : (1) The legend of Rāvaṇa's lifting up of Mount Kailāsa (or Aṣṭāpada for the Jainas) and his fashioning of the peculiar chordophone. (2) An Apabhraṁśa poetic Composition that used for the first time to describe that episode in a metre that had 7 + 13 Mātrās in each half.

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[4] Svayambhū's *Paumacariya*, XIII, ix. 8-10; X, 1-3.

[5] In the account given, however, in the Triṣaṣṭi, Rāvaṇa's singing on the occasion is said to be *grāmarāgaramaya* ' Charming due to the use of the folk-melodies ', to which he provided accompaniment with the *bhuja-vīṇā* (VII, ii. 268).

[6] For the Maṅgala songs see *Svayambhūcchandas*, IV, 20-21; VIII, 30; *Chandonuśāsana* V, 40.

[7] See *Svayambhūcchandas*, VI, 13; *Chandaḥśekhara*, V, 47; Chandonuśāsana, VI, 19.6.

The verse-example given in the *Chandonuśāsana* to illustrate the Rāvaṇahastaka metre can be translated as follows :— ‘Taking Vīṇā and holding Rāvaṇahastaka in their hands, the gods performed the Samahasta (hand-pose in dancing) on the occasion of the ceremonial bathing of the Jina ? Apparently the theme of the verse derives from the description of Rāvaṇa's Jina-worship referred to above.

In the Paryāya Commentary on this verse of the *Chandonuśāsana*, the word *Rāvaṇahatthaya* is explained as follows :—

> रावणहस्तकः आतोद्यं, यत् पुरा दशास्येनाष्टापदे जिनेन्द्राणामग्रे
> स्वहस्त-नसामुट्पाव्य वादितं त्रितन्त्रीरूपं वृद्धपंकं ? वाद्यम् ।

This means, ‘Rāvṇahastaka is a musical instrument, which after first plucking out sinews from his own arm, was played by Rāvaṇa, on the Aṣṭāpada in front of the Lords of the Jinas. *It has three Chords* and is......(?).’

The second Characterizing adjective in the original text, viz. वृद्धपंक is obscure. Most probably the text here is corrupt. We are not sure if we can emend it as बद्धतुंबं (‘provided with a gourd’) or something similar. The date of the Paryāya commentary is unknown. The manuscript is dated 1659 V. S. i.e. 1603 A. D.

Regarding the early references to Sarangi in the Prakrit literature of the Jainas, Bor observes:[8] ‘Apparently the Sarangi played an important role in Jain religious music during the 11th and 12th Centuries, and like its modern counterpart, it was used to accompany singing. The fact that it is first mentioned in popular narratives which were written in Prakrit, the language of the masses, seems to indicate that the Sarangi was primarily an instrument of folk and religious music.’

Here we should point out that the Prakrit works of Jineśvara-sūri and Lakṣamaṇagaṇi wherein the earliest reference to Sarangi occur, as also the Apabhraṁśa epic of Svayambhū which is the earliest work mentioning the Rāvaṇahasta, are written in a language which is considerably ornate and stylized. In the matter of sophistication these works cannot be distinguished from the Sanskrit works of their age. The literary Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa used in these works had long ceased to be the ‘language of the masses’. The occurrence of Sarangi and Rāvaṇahasta in these text cannot be taken as indicating primarily the folk character of those instruments, and we have already pointed out the elitist character of the Jain religious music in which they have been mentioned a figuring. It seems that, although originally they were folk instruments, they late on secured a place in elitist musical performance.

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[8] The Voice of the Sarangi, p. 51.

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SUBJECT VERSUS AGENT : A STUDY OF THE KASHMIRI PHASAL VERB *HYE* 'BEGIN TO'

By

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and

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ABSTRACT : Data are adduced from the Indo-Aryan language Kashmiri to show that analogous to dummy subject there exists a category "abstract agent" which may appear when ordinarily *sakarmaka* verbs are used for actions and events usually expressed by *akarmaka* verbs. The existence of the abstract agent provides further support for positing a class of grammatical categories (subject, direct object, etc.) which are conceptually distinct (although compatible with) thematic categories (agent, patient, recipient, etc.)

Introduction. Some seventy-five years ago in his *Standard Manual of the Kashmiri Language*, Grierson noted a peculiar feature of the phasal verb *hye* 'begin to'. When the dependent infinitive was intransitive (as in sentence a below) the third person singular agentive suffix *-n* appeared on the finite form of *hye* in ergative tenses, even when the subject of the sentence was plural. His example (from vol. II, p. 58) :

(a) gruumphy hyety-in nyeeriny kulyis[1]
buds-NM (m) took-3sE emerge-INF (mp) tree-DT[2]
'Buds have begun to come out on the tree.'

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[1] The transciption used here is not Grierson's but one developed by Kenneth Hill in his class in linguistic field methods at the University of Michigan in 1984. It is a phonemic transcription, similar to one developed by D. I. Edel'man (1983), in which palatalization of consonants is indicated by /y/, phonemic length in vowels by doubling, retroflexion of apical stops by capitalization, labiovelarization of consonants by /w/ and nasality in vowels by a Capital /N/. Single /e/ is a central mid vowel except when preceded by /y/ and followed by word boundary or a palatalized consonant. Then it is front. The vowel /ee/ is long central mid except when fronted by an immediately following /y/. The

In this paper we report on the investigation that Grierson's chance observation opened up for us. We feel our findings will be of interest not only to descriptivists of Indo-Aryan languages and investigators of South Asia as a linguistic area, but, to general typologists as well. For, it turns out that Grierson's isolated example represents a number of various construction types featuring invariant, non-referential third person singular agents and further that there are at least two distinguishable sub-types of such non-referential agents. A close study of their syntactic properties offers further confirmation of the neo-Paninian[3] view that the grammatical categories of subject, direct object, etc., are independent of (but co-existent and combinable with) the thematic categories (or *ka:rakas*) of agent, patient, etc.

Part I. Agreement patterns in *hye*-constructions.

In Kashmiri, as in many languages of the world, certain lexical items do double duty as both main verbs and as auxiliary verbs. One of these is the verb

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vowel /i/ is high central except when fronted by a preceding /y/. The long vowels /oo/, /ii/, /uu/ and /ee/ are pronounced with noticeable glide towards mid-central position. The transciption ignores the marginal phonemes /ụ/, /ụụ/, /ọ/ and / ọ ọ / which are somewhat less rounded versions of their undotted counterparts. The consonants /S/, /c/ /ch/ and /j/ are inherently palatalized before /i/.

[2] Abbreviations used include :

A	anti-absolutive pron. suffix
AB	ablative case
CPM	conjunctive part. marker
D	dative pron. suffix
DT	dative case
E	ergative pron-suffix
ER	ergative case
FUT	future tense form
HON	honorific
INF	infinitive
N	nominative pron. suffix
NMM	nominative case
PP	past participale
QM	question marker
TR (ANS).	transitivizing suffix
m, f, s, p	masc, fem, sg, pl
1, 2, 3	first, second, third

For description and discussion of Kashmiri's systems of pronominal suffixes, please see Hook and Koul 1984a: 107-110; Hook and Koul 1984b and Hook 1984. What are termed "nominative" pronominal suffixes here correspond to "absolutive" (or "green") suffixes in those earlier papers and what we call "ergative" pronominal suffixes here correspond to "anti-absolutive" (or "gold") suffixes there. While there are important conceptual differences underlying these terminologival differences they are irrelevant to the present discussion.

[3] For an exposition of the Neo-Pāṇinian concepts of grammatical relation (*gamaka*) and thematic role (*kāraka*) and an application of them in an account of Hindi syntax, see Hook 1985.

hye which as main verb has the meanings 'take', 'buy' and sometimes 'feel' :

(b) temy hyot mye kalam
he-ER took me-DT pen
'He took my pen from me.'

(c) bi hyemi yemyi dukaan-i pyaTh-i kyitaab
I will-buy this-AB shop-AB on AB (= from) book
'I will buy the book from this shop.'

(d) tamyi hyot Sury—sindyi marn-uk dyil—as manz
she-ER took child—GN-AB dying-GN heart-DT in
'She took the child's death to heart.'

As auxiliary, *hye* is the equivalent of English 'get (someone) to' and 'begin to' :

(e) mye hyets-iy tsye ciThy per-yith
I-ER took-2sD you-DT letter read-CPM
'I got you to read letter.'

(f) tamyi hyets ciThy par-iny
she-ER took letter read-INF
'She began to read the letter.'

When used in the first sense (as a parapharastic equivalent of the causative : see Hook and Koul 1984 : 112-114) *hye* governs the conjunctive participle marker-*Yith* in the verb dependent on it. In the second phasal sense, it governs the variable infinitive in-*un*. It is *hye* as a phasal verb meaning 'begin to' whose syntactic properties are examined here.

In the sense of 'begin to' hye appears in all tenses and moods :[4]

(g) leDki hyeyi pakun
boy will-take walk-INF
'The boy will start to walk.'

(h) mye chye hyets-mits KaSiiryi-hinz teeryiiykh lyeeykhiny
I-ER have taken-PP Kashmir-GN history write-INF
'I have begun to write a history of Kashmir'

(i) bati-hye khyon
food take eat-INF
'Start eating :'

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[4] Sometimes in tenses built on the present participle *-aan*, phasal *hye* has the meaning of 'try to', rather than 'begin to' :

(a) Sur chu hyevaan pakun magar chu-s ni tagaan
child is taking walk-INF but is-3sD not being-able
'The child is trying to walk but not succeeding.'

(j) sury chi du vehiry hyevaan pakun
‘ Children are two year (mp) starting walk
· Children start to walk at two. ’[5]

When dependent on *hye* the infinitive in *un* in general agrees with the direct object where one is present.

(k) tsoT hye khyeny
bread take eat-InF (fs)
‘ Start eating bread. ’ (compare i)

(l) leDk-an hyets tsoT khyeny
boy-ER took bread eat-INF (fs)
‘ The boy began to eat the bread. ’ (compare i)

If the dependent verb is intransitive, the infinitive may remain in its default masculine singular form. Tense usually has no effect on this :

(g2) kuur hyeyi pakun
girl will-take walk-INF (ms)
The girl will start to walk. ’ (compare g1)

(g3) kooryi hyot pakun
girl-ER took walk INF (ms)
‘ The girl began to walk. ’

However, in *hye*-sequences involving intransitives the infinitive may also agree in gender and number with the subject :

(m1) swa hyeyi gari gatshiny
she will-take home go-INF (fs)
‘ She will begin to go home.

(m2) swa-hyets-in gari gatshiny
she took-3sE home go-INF (fs)
‘ She began to go home. ’

This pattern is an alternative to the invariant pattern :

(m3) swa hyeyi gari gatshun (ms) (compare m1)
‘ She will begin to go home. ’

(m4) tamyi (ER) hyot gari gatshun
‘ She began to go home (compare m2)

However for some intransitive expressions, tense seems to affect the agreement pattern :

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[5] *du vehiry* is the masculine plural form of a *bahuvrīhi* compound whose underlying form *du veruh* ‘ (having) two years (of age) ’ yields *du vehur* (nominative masculine singular) by metathesis.

(n1/2) kyitaab hyeyi tshyeniny (fs) /*tshyenun (ms)
'The book will start to rip.'

Here in non-ergative tenses only the agreeing pattern is allowed. In ergative tenses either pattern may be used :

(n3) kyitaab hyets-in tshyeniny (fs)

(n4) kyitaabyi (ER) hyot tshyenun (ms)
'The book began to tear.'

Finally there are instances in which agreement is obligatory whether the tense is ergative or not :

(O1/2) anyigeT hyeyi gatshiny /*gatshun
darkness will-take go-INF (fs) / go-INF (ms)
'It will start getting dark.'

(O3) anyigeT hyets-in gatshiny

(O4) *anyigaTyi (ER) hyot gatshun
'It began to get dark.'

Thus *hye*—constructions can be apportioned among four classes :

(A) Agreement with the direct object.
(B) Optional agreement with the subject.
(C) Obligatory agreement with the subject in non-ergative tenses.
(D) Obligatory agreement with the subject throughout.

A problem for the grammarian is how to define the membership of these four classes.

There are some things that can be easily stated. For example, almost all transitive verbs are found in *hye*– constructions belonging to class A. However, such a statement does not define the boundaries of class A, completely, since, there are a few superficially transitive expressions that do not belong to Class A. For instance, *beezy taariny* 'play a trick' seems to belong to class C :

(p1/2) su leDKi hyeyi beezy taarun /*taariny
that boy will-start trick make-cross-INF (ms)/INF (fs)
'That boy will begin to pull a fast one.'

(p3) su leDKi hyot-un beezy taarun
that boy-NM took-3sE trick make-cross-INF (ms)

(p4) temy leDKan (ER) hyets beezy taariny (fs)
'That boy began to pull a fast one.'

Yet others (such as *patsh thaaviny* 'believe in; have faith') belong to class B :

(q1/2) su leDki hyeyi tsye-pyaTh patsh thaavun/thaaviny
that boy will-take you-on faith place-INF
'The boy will start to have faith in you.'

(q3) su leDKi hyotun tsye pyaTh patsh thaavun (ms)

(q4) temy leDkan hyets tsye pyaTh patsh thaaviny (fs)
‘ The boy began to have faith in you. ’

It seems possible that these non-A transitives constitute a small set of listable idiomatic exceptions to the generalization that class A is composed of transitive (and only) transitive expressions.

This leaves classes B,C and D for the intransitives. If we look at the subject noun phrases in m (swa ‘ she ’), n (*kyitaab* ‘ book ’) and o (anyigeT ‘ darkness ’), we find representatives of different classes of referents in the real word : animate, tangible inanimate, intangible. Can membership in classes B,C and D be defined on the basis of the referential properties of subject noun phrases ? Let us take the human subject noun phrase *kuur* ‘ girl ’ and see. Propositions involving volitional and continuable action predicated of *kuur* belong to class B :

(r1) kuur hyats-in tsaliny (fs)
girl took-3s E flee-INF

(r2) kooryi (ER) hyot tsalun (ms)
‘ The girl began to run away. ’

(r3/4) kuur hyeyi tsaliny (fs) / tsalun (ms)
‘ The girl will begin to run away. ’

But propositions predicating non-volitional changes of state or volitional but non-continuable actions of *kuur* fall in class C :

(s1) kuur hyetsin baliny

(s2) koori hyot balun
‘ The girl began to get better. ’

(s3/4) kuur hyeyi baliny / * balun.
‘ The girl will begin to get better. ’

(t1) kuur hyets in vwathiny

(t2) kooryi hyot vwathun

(t3/4) kuur hyeyi vwathiny / * vwathun
‘ The girl will begin to get up. ’

However, if we add the adverb *sulyi* ‘ early ’ to the preceding, we find pattern B instead of C :

(u1) kuur hyetsin sulyi vwathiny

(u2) kooryi hyot sulyi vwathun
‘ The girl began to get up early. ’

(u3/4) kuur hyeyi sulyi vwathiny /vwathun
'The girl will begin to get up early.'

Perhaps there is an aspectual difference in the interpretations of set t and set u such that the usual reading of t is semelfactive (She began to get up (once). ') while that of u is habitual (' She will begin to (make it a habit to) get up early. ')

If we look at an intangible inanimate like *tiir* ' the cold ' we find that propositions having it as their subject fall into either Class C or Class D. If the proposition involves the effect of the cold on a perceiver then it belongs to D :

(v1) tiir hyetsin laginy (to strike)

(v2) *tiiryi (ER) hyot lagun
' We/I began to feel the cold. '

(v3/4) tiir hyeyi laginy/*lagun

' (Someone) will begin to feel the cold. '

If the proposition involves a change in the cold which is independent of a perceiver then it will fall into class C :

(w1) tiir hyetsin vwathiny

(w2) tiiryi (ER) hyot vwathun
' It began to get colder. '

(w3/4) tiir hyeyi vwathiny / * vwathun
' It will begin to get colder. '

Even *kuur* can appear in expressions belonging to class D :

(x1) swa kuur hyetsin temyis khariny

(x2) * kooryi hyot temyis kharun
'That girl began to irritate him:

(x3/4) swa kuur hyeyi temyis khariny / * kharun
' That girl will begin to irritate him. '

So it is clear that it is not referential features such as [+ or [– animate] or [+ or [– tangible] that are in themselves sufficient predictors of the syntactic class of *hye*-constructions. Nor is the particular choice of lexical verb sufficient either as can be seen by comparing set t with set u. Thus it seems that features of both the subject's referent and of the action or state predicated of it must be taken together into account in order to determine or predict the syntactic behaviour of *hye*-expressions. While we have not succeeded in evolving a complete account (one that will predict in all instances which class (B, C or D) a given intransitive proposition belongs to), we have nonetheless made some progress, particularly in predicting which propositions will exhibit pattern D rather than

B or C. However, this partial account depends on concepts introduced ar developed in Part II of this paper.

Part II. The ergative and the abstract agent in *hye*-expressions.

One of the intriguing features of phasal *hye* ' begin to ' in ergative tenses the presence of the pronominal suffix *-n* :

(y1) kwal hyets-in hwakhiny ' The stream began to dry up. '

(y2) * kwal hyets hwakhiny stream-NM took-3sE dry-INF(fs)

This suffix alternates with ergative case marking on the subject noun phrase :

(y3) kwal -yi hyot hwakhun ' The stream began to dry up. '

(y4) * kwalyi hyot-un hwakhon stream-ER took dry-INF(ms).

It is hard to discover what conditions the speaker's choice between the two competing structures. In particular, it is hard to find contexts such th only one of the two alternates is acceptable and not the other. What informatio we have been able to glean from introspection and elicitation suggests th ergative case marking of the subject noun phrase focusses the hearer's attentio on it, makes it more salient, places it more firmly in space and time. Fo instance, when the incipience expressed by *hye* is further delimited by a specifi time phrase such as *raath* ' yesterday ' or *eeThyi baji* ' at eight o'clock ' the the ergatively marked construction feels somewhat more comfortable than th nominative one :

(z1) raath eeThyi baji hyot ruud-un pyon
yesterday eight o'clock took rain-ER fall-INF

(z2) ? raath eeThyi haji hyot-un ruud (NM) pyon
' It began to rain yesterday at eight o'clock. '

Sometimes there are syntactic constraints on the choice. For example, idiom *taarakh neny keDyith* ' late at night ' (lit : ' having drawn the stars bright ') happens to contain the conjunctive participial form of a *sakarm* verb *kaD* ' take out '. In construction with this, an ergatively marked *h* expression is more confusing than a nominative one. It is as if ergative c marking reinforces a literal (and wrong) reading of the subject of *hye* as agent of " taking out the stars " :

(aa1) taarakh neny keDyith hyets-in swa gari gatshiny
stars clear pull-CPM took-3sE she-NM home go-INF (fs)

(aa2) ? taarakh neny keDyith hyot tamyi (ER) gari gatshun (ms)
' She began to go home late at night. '

But since expressions belonging to Class A can, by definition, only ergatively marked in ergative tenses and those belonging to Class D can, ag by definition, only be nominatively marked, the factors that condition the ch between the nominative and ergative (where the choice is available) must per force be rather weak and often ignored.

If we examine *hye*-expressions in which there is an animate and volitional agent of a transitive proposition (ie, one belonging to Class A), we find that the pronominal suffix *-n* is in complementary distribution with an independent noun or third person pronoun in the ergative case :

(ab1) tamyi hyot (*-un) beeth gyavun ' She began to sing a song. '
she-ER took (3sE) song sing-INF

(ab2) beeth hyot-un gyavun (*tamyi) ' She began to sing a song. '
song took-3sE sing-INF (she-ER)

In view of this alternation of ergatively marked agent noun phrase with ergative suffix it is tempting to identify the ergative suffix in ab2) with the ergative case in ab1). Are there grounds for such an identification ?

One difficulty with such an analysis is that, as we have seen in the first section of this paper, not every -n suffix can alternate with ergative marking of a subject noun phrase. For example, in x1) and x2) :

(x1) kuur hyets-in temyis khariny ' He began to dislike the girl. '
girl-NM took-3sE him-DT annoy-INF

(x2) * kooryi (ER) hyot temyis kharun
(' The girl began to irritate him. ')

An explanation of this asymmetry might be that the *-n* suffix represents an abstract or formal agent that satisfies the predicate argument structure (*apekṣā*) of lexical item *hye* without imposing the role of agent on its subject noun phrase; whereas the ergative case does assign such a role to the noun phrase that it is attached to.

Some support for this hypothesis comes from *hye*-expressions in which the dependent verb is a passive. In these only the alternant with the *-n* suffix may appear, not the alternant with the ergative case (ie, all passives belong to Class D) :

(ac1) keem hyets-in karini yiny
work-NM took-3sE do-INF-AB come-INF (fs)

(ac2) * kaamyi (ER) hyot karini yun (ms)
' The work began to be done. '

(ad1) swa hyets-in jaan Seeyir maanini yiny
she-NM took-3sE good poet regard-INF come-INF(fs)

(ad2) *tamyi (ER) hyot jaan Seeyir maanini yun (ms)
' She began to be regarded as a good poet. '

We may surmise that since the subject noun phrases *keem* 'work' and *sw* 'she' in these examples already bear the role of patient with respect to thei predicates *kar* 'do' and *maan* 'consider', they cannot be assigned the role o agent, hence cannot appear in the ergative case. However, the presence of th ergative suffix *-n* allows the structural requirement for an agent of *-hye* 'begi to' (which is an etymological extension of *hye* 'take') to be met withou semantic inconsistency. The suffix *-n*, then, functions as a kind of "dummy" or better, "abstract agent" that preserves the structural uniformity of lexica *hye* in all environments.

There are two additional pieces of evidence which favour this analysis When other persons appear as surface subjects in *hye*-expressions in ergativ tenses they are represented by nominative suffixes on the finite verb. In thes tenses nominative suffixes are coreferential with the direct objects of transitiv verbs. In Kashmiri a direct object is always also a patient (although the convers is not always true.[6] The *-n* suffix precedes these direct object suffixes in subjec position.[7]) In Kashmiri the subject of a transitive verb (= a verb that has a direct object) is always an agent (although again the converse is not always true).[8] Thus, the nominative suffixes are coreferential with the thematic patients of the infinitives that govern them :

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6 For instance, in passive constructions, the [+ patient] noun phrase i subject, not direct object.

7 The linear order of pronominal suffixes in Kashmiri can be defined i terms of the grammatical relations borne by their coreferential noun phrase In sequences of pronominal suffixes, those referring to the subject precede thos referring to the direct object and those referring to the direct object precede thos referring to the indirect object. In Hook and Koul 1984b, this ordering w specified in terms of thematic roles : " . . . . the first suffix is agent . . . . the secon patient." (p. 132). But this is incorrect as can be seen in :

(a) bi hyem-an -ay su yoor en -yith
I take-3sA-2sD he-NM here bring-CPM
'I'll have you bring him here.'

where the suffix coreferential with the patient of *an* 'bring' precedes the suf coreferential with its agent. However, the patient of *an* is syntactically the dire object of *hye* 'have, cause' and the agent of *an* is, with respect to *hye*, an in rect object. Hence, the preferability of specifying suffix order in terms grammatical relations rather than in terms of thematic roles.

8 Of course, this statement presupposes that all passive verb forms a intransitive. This, in turn, means that *intransitive* does not necessarily me 'having no patient'. That is, the English term *transitive* does not denote t same set of forms as the Pāṇinian term *sakarmaka*. Rather transitive forms a a (proper) subject of *sakarmaka* forms.

(ae1) bi hyets-in-as -ay -aa pasand yiny ?
I-NM(f) took-3sE-1sN-2sD-QM liking come-INF(fs)

(ae2) *mye hyot-uy -aa pasand yun ?
I-ER took-2sD-QM liking come-INF(ms)
' Have you started to like me ? '

(af1) tsi kari pya Thi hyets-in-akh byemaar gatshiny ?
you-NM(f) when from took-3sE-2sN sick go-INF(fs)

(af2) tsye kari pyaThi hyot-uth byemaar gatshun ?
you-Er when from took-2sE sick go-INF(ms)
' Since when did you start to get sick ? '

(ag1) esy hyety-in paryeeSaan gatshiny
we-NM took-3sE anxious go-INF (mp)

(ag2) asyi (ER) hyot paryeeSaan gatshun
' We began to get worried '

(ah1) vwany chi-n -av tohy hyety-mity khootsiny hoonyan
now are-3sE-2pN you-NM(p) taken-PP(mp) fear-INF(mp) dogs-DT

(ah2) vwany chu-vi twahyi hyot-mut khootsun hoonyan
now is-2pE you-NM(p) taken-PP(ms) fear-INF(ms) dogs-DT
' Now you have started being afraid of dogs. '

Notice in examples ag1) and ah1) that the abstract agent remains singular (*-n*) even though the surface subjects are plural. Notice further that in the second person sets (af and ah), the abstract agent suffix alternates (in af1 and ah1) with the ergative suffix of the second person (in af2 and ah2). This is particularly clearly to be seen in set af) since the second person singular pronominal suffixes in ergative tenses have forms unique to each grammatical slot : *-th* for ergative (or subject), *-kh* for nominative (or direct object); and *-y* for dative (or indirect object).[9] Analogous suffixes are absent in ae2) and ag2) because use of the first person singular ergative suffix is optional and the first person plural in Kashmiri has no corresponding suffixes at all. Similarly there is no suffix for third person subjects of intransitives. At most, in ergative tenses, third person nominative (= direct object) suffixes sometimes occur when there is a second person subject in the ergative case (or a corresponding ergative pronominal suffix in the verb) :

(ai1) tsye kyaazyi troov -uth-an gur ? (from Grierson 1911)
you-ER why release-2sE-3sN horsə
' Why did you let go of the horse ? '

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[9] The dative second person singular suffix *-y* is sometimes found, in present, future and conditional perfect forms, in place of the ergative suffix *-th* :
(a) tsye (ER) kyaa chu-y (*or* -th) kormut ? ' What have you done ? '

(ai2) gur kyaazyi troov -un (*-an) ?
horse why release-3sE (3sN)
' Why did he let go of the horse ? '

In view of this, it is not possible to interpret the *-n* suffix of y1) as somehow encoding the person and number of the subject noun phrase *kwal* ' stream ' :

(y1) kwal hyets-in hwakhiny
stream-NM(fs) took-3sE dry-up-INF(fs)
' The stream began to dry up. '

Further support for this comes from the impossibility of introducing the third person plural suffix *-kh* (which has the same form whether in ergative (= subject) or nominative (= direct object) slot) even when the nominative subject of a *hye*-expression is a third person plural :

(aj1) lanji hyats-an / *-akh nyeerinyi kulyis
branches-NM(f) took-3sE / -3p E/N emerge-INF (fp) tree-DT

(aj2) lanj-av (ER) hyot nyeerun kulyis
' The tree began to branch out. '

(ak1) kaTh hyety-in / *-ikh maarini yiny
rams-NM(m) took-3sE / -3sE/N kill-INF-AB come-INF (mp)

(ak2) *kaT-av (ER) hyot maarini yun
' The rams began to be slaughtered. '

The second piece of supporting evidence for the hypothesis that the suffix *-n* is the trace of an abstract agent comes from weather verbs. As pointed out in Hook and Manaster-Ramer 1985, Kashmiri is unlike the verb-second languages of northwestern Europe in that it does not have dummy subjects in weather expressions (viz; English ' *It* rains. ', French ' *Il* pleut. ', German ' *Es* regnet', but Kashmiri *ruud pyav* ' rain fell. ') However, unlike other Indo-Aryan languages Kashmiri has a set of *sakarmaka* weather verbs and these exhibit the third person singular suffix *-n* in ergative tenses:[10]

(al1) garim kor-un
heat did-3sE
' It 's gotten hot. '

(al2) tiir ker-in
cold did-3sE
' It 's gotten cold. '

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[10] These often have " dummy recipients ", too :

(a) garim kor-un -as
heat did-3sE-3sD
' It's gotten hot. '
(Lit : ' X did heat to Y. ')

(b) tiir ker-in -as
cold did-3sE-3sD
' It's gotten cold. '
(Lit : ' X did cold to Y. ')

For further discussion see Hook and Koul, forthcoming.

In addition, there are health expressions (am, an) and expressions of yet other kinds[11] / in which the third person singular suffix *-n* surfaces in ergative tenses:

(am) dand -as kor-un temyis dood ' He's got a toothache. '
tooth-DT did-3sE him-DT pain

(an) tsye roT -un -ay -aa khyen -cyen ?
you-DT grab-3sE-2sD-QM eating-drinking
' Have you lost your appetite ? '

(aol) yuhus pep -ireevy-in tsuuNTy jaan
this-year ripen-TRANS-3sE apples good
' The apples have ripened well this year. '

(ap) tiiryi-siity vwazil-oov-un-as buth
cold -with redden-TR-3sE-3sD face
' Her face has reddened with the cold. '

(aq) tsoT-un-akh-aa ! tsi kyaazyi chu-kh ni thod hyakaan vethyith
cut-3sE-2sN-QM ! you why be-2sN not erect able stand-CPM
' Are you crippled ? ; Why don't you get up (and do your work ? ')

In these, too, the third person suffix continues in the singular form even when the nominative subject is plural :

(ar) zangi chi-n -ay -aa tsye raci -matsi ?
legs-NM(f) are-3sE-2sD-QM you-DT seized-PP(fp)
' Are you a cripple ? ' (Lit : ' Did X catch your legs ? ')

The presence of these constructions of various semantic types indicates that the abstract agent with *hye* ' begin to ' is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather one instance of a general pattern in Kashmiri syntax.

Admitting *-n* as the trace of an abstract agent, there still remains to be resolved an ambiguity in the analysis of *hye*-constructions. In a sentence like ai 1) what is the relation between *lanji* ' branches ' and *hyatsan* ' began ' or ' X took ' ? :

(ail) lanji hyats-an nyeerinyi kulyis
branches-NM took-3sE emerge-INF(fp) tree-DT
' The tree began to branch out. '

We have loosely referred to the nominatively marked noun phrases (like *lanji*) in *hye*-constructions as their " subjects ". Is *lanji* the subject of what is syntactically an intransitive verb ' begin ' ? Or is it rather the direct object of a transitive verb ' begin ' ?

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[11] Described in detail in Hook and Koul, forthcoming.

The answer to this question must be found by looking at *hye*-constructions in non-ergative tenses, because either analysis of *lanji* leads to the same distribution of form in an ergative tense (where subjects of intransitives and direct objects of transitives, in Kashmiri at any rate, receive identical morphological treatment). If *lanji* in ai1) is the direct object of a transitive ' begin, ' then, in non-ergative tenses, there will be no agreement. However, what we find in non-ergative tenses is agreement in number (ai3), person (as) and, where possible, gender (at) :

(ai3) lanji hye-n nyeerinyi kulyis
branches take-FUT3p emerge-INF tree-DT
' The tree will begin to branch out. '

(as) bi hye-m aa zaaN twahyi nyiSi ari yiny ?
I(f) take-1s-QM ever you-HON near bored come-INF (fs)
' Will I ever begin to be bored (when I am) with you ? '

(at) keSiiryi che aktuubar-as manz tiir hyevaan kariny
Kashmir-DT is(fs) October-DT in cold(fs) taking do-INF(fs)
' In Kashmir it starts getting cold in October. '

Thus we may conclude that in ergative tenses *hye*-expressions with abstract agents show agreement in person, number and gender with noun phrases that are to be classified as subjects rather than direct objects in clauses that are intransitive rather than transitive.

This becomes even clearer when we contrast *hye*-expressions with another set of expressions having abstract agents. This is the set of " transitive natural process verbs " (investigated in some detail in Hook and Koul, forthcoming). Sentences ao1) and ap) above are instances of these expressions where, in contrast to *hye*-expressions (and also to health and weather expressions like al, am and an), the noun phrase with which the finite verb (in ergative tenses) agrees is not the subject but the direct object. For with these expressions in non-ergative tenses the verb remains in the third person masculine singular, in agreement with the abstract agent, and not with the nominative noun :

(ao2) yuhus pep -iraav-yi tsuuNThy jaan
this-year ripen-TRANS-FUT3s apples good
' This year (X) will ripen the apples well. '

(au1) vakhit-i brooNTh buD-iroov-un -akh tsi !
time -AB before old-TRANS-3s E-2sN you
' You've aged before your time ! ' (' X aged you..... ')

(au2) vakhit-i brooNTh buD-iraav-yi -y tsye !
time -AB before old-TRANS-FUT3s-2sD you-DT
' You'll age before your time ! ' (' X will age you.... ')

(In sentence au2 the second person pronoun is not *in the nominative* because first and second person direct objects when acted on in a non-ergative tense by third person subjects must appear in the dative case : See Hook and Koul 1984b: 130).

Furthermore, if *tsuuNThy* 'apples' in set au or *tsi* 'you' in set au are taken to be grammatical subjects then a new, fifth class of *hye*-expressions will have to be posited :

(av1) taarakh hyety-in geeb kariny 'It began to get light.'
stars(mp) took-3sE hidden do-INF(mp)
(Lit : 'X began to make the stars disappear.')

(av2) *taarak-av (ER) hyot geeb karun

(av3) taarakh hye-yi (*hyen) geeb kariny
stars(mp) take-FUT3s (take-FUT3p) hidden do-INF(mp)

(av4) *taarakh hyeyi geeb karun (ms)
'It will begin to get light.'

This pattern of case assignment and agreements is very much like that of Class D (see sets o, v, x, ac, ad, ae, ak) except that in the future the verb *hyeyi* 'will begin' does not agree with its "subjects" *taarakh* 'stars', but rather with the abstract agent signalled in ergative tenses by the suffix *-n*. However, rather than set up a new Class E to accommodate natural process expressions like *taarakh geeb kariny* 'to get light; to dawn', if instead we classify *taarakh* as both [+ patient] and [+ direct object], then there is no need for a fifth class. Rather, *taarakh geeb kariny* will fall in Class A ! Compare av with aw :

(aw1) peeNsi hyety-in geeb kariny
money(mp) took-3sE hidden do-INF mp)
'He / she began to misappropriate the money.'

(aw2) *peeNs-av (ER) hyot geeb karun

(aw3) peeNsi hye-yi (*hye-n) geeb kariny
money(mp) take-FUT3s (take-FUT3p) hidden do-INF(mp)

(aw4) *peeNsi (mp) hyeyi geeb karun (ms)
'He / she will begin to misappropriate the money.'

In set aw, *peeNsi* 'money' is both [+ patient] and [+ direct object]. Syntactically, sets av and aw are identical. The difference is that the *-n* suffix in aw is referential while that in av is not.

Thus, we must discriminate between two kinds of abstract agents in Kashmiri. There are those which appear in *hye*-expressions of Classes B, C and D, and in "transitive"[12] weather and health expressions. These are present in ergative tenses, where the noun phrase controlling agreements is the grammatical subject. The second sort of abstract agent occurs with natural process expres sions (ao, ap, au, av). It remains in ergative and non-ergative tenses alike Since the verb agrees with it in non-ergative tenses, we must consider it to be th abstract subject as well as the abstract agent. Both kinds of abstract agent differ from other agents in that they are non-referential.

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[12] Of course, "*transitive*" means '*sakarmaka*' here since it can be shown that weather and health verbs of this type are syntactically intrasitive, See Hook and Koul, forthcoming.

Part III. Some implications.

In Part I we promised at least a partial answer to the question of wh some *hye*-expressions with intransitive dependents fall in pattern class D (i which the ergative does not occur as an alternant to the nominative), whil others fall in pattern classes B or C (in which the ergative does occur). Sinc all passive *hye*-expressions fall in Class D (see sets ac, ad and ak), it seem reasonable to infer that the rest of Class D consists of other predicates th assign a specific non-agential thematic role to the grammatical subjects of thei clauses. Thus, intransitive psychological predicates which assign the dative cas to what, on a number of grounds (see Hook 1985), are known to be their agents presumably assign some other, non-agential thematic role to their subjects (o the assumption that a predicate may assign only one thematic role of a give category). And, indeed, such subjects cannot appear in the ergative when the figure in *hye*-expressions :

(x1) kuur hyets-in temyis khariny
girl-NM took-3sE him-DT irritate-INF

(x2) *kooryi (ER) hyot temyis kharun
'He began to dislike the girl.'

(ae1) bi hyets-in-as-ay-aa pasand yiny ?
I-NM(f) took-3sE-1sN-2sD-QM liking come-INF(fs)

(ae2) *mye (ER) hyot-uy-aa pasand yun ?
'Have you begun to like me ?' (see also set v)

Contrast this with those psychological predicates in Kashmiri which happen assign the nominative case to their agents :

(ax1) bi hyets-in-as twahyi nyiSi ari yiny
I-NM(f) took-3sE-1sN you-DT near bored come-INF(fs)

(ax2) mye (ER) hyot twahyi nyiSi ari yun
'I have begun to be bored with you.' (see also set ah)

It would seem that nominative agents (= non-dative agents) of psycholog predicates are free to be marked (ax2) or not marked (ax1) as the nomi agents of *hye* as well.

On the assumption, then, that a noun phrase assigned a non-agent thematic role with respect to some predicate is not eligible to be assigned t role of agent by some other predicate (or other role-assigner such as the ergative case), we have, on the one hand, an explanation of why only certain intransitive propositions fall in Class D when they are in construction with phasal *hye* and, on the other hand, a powerful tool for inferring whether a [+ nominative], [+ subject] noun phrase in a given proposition is categorizable as [+ agent] or not. In this respect, the behaviour of *hye*-expressions provides further corroboration of the Neo-Pāṇinian view that just case and grammatical relations or just case and thematic roles are not sufficient to the task of describing modern Indo-Aryan languages. Rather, the grammarian must use designations from three independent but mutually compatible classes of categories : case (or *vibhakti :* nominative, dative, etc.) ; grammatical relation (or *gamaka:* subject, direct object, etc.); and thematic role (or *kāraka* : agent, patient, etc.).

Finally, we feel that our study of *hye*-expressions in Kashmiri points out the need for a terminological distinction to be made between "dummy" subjects and "abstract" subjects and agents. Dummy subjects are a feature of a number of languages in northwestern Europe. While they also exist in Kashmiri (see Hook and Manaster-Ramer 1985), their function in the language is quite different from that of abstract agents. The role of the dummy subject in Kashmiri is played at the level of the clause or sentence. Their presence allows the rule of V-2 word order to be conserved in contexts where on discourse-structural grounds, the finite verb itself is the best candidate for sentence-initial position, contexts like the beginning of a story :

(ay) yimi aasi trye zanaani. akh ees zyiiTh, akh ees....
these were three women. one was tall, one was....
'There were three women. One of them was tall, one was.... '

But they do not satisfy any structural requirement of the lexical item (here *aas* 'be, exist') of which they are the ostensible subjects. By employing other word orders it is possible to dispense with them; in fact, one must dispense with them:

(az) trye aasi (*yimi) zanaani... 'There were three women... '
three were (these) women...

This property of dummy subjects sharply distinguishes them from abstract agents (and, for natural process verbs, from abstract subjects, too). These entities, while just as non-referential as dummy subjects, meet structural requirements of individual lexical items like *hye* take, *kar* 'do', *raT* 'seize', normally, *sakarmaka* predicates which through the vagaries of historical change and semantic extension have come to express events and actions most languages reserve for *akarmaka* verbs. They are not simple place holders in a string of constituents that serve to resolve conflicting constraints on word order, but rather abstractions which preserve the structural uniformity of polysemous and multifunctional lexical items. Thus, our choice of the term "abstract agent" (and, with natural process verbs, "abstract subject") is a deliberate one, made to reflect an essential difference, and one which we propose for general use in linguistic typology.

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Colophon

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THE STATE OF SOCIETY AS REFLECTED IN BĀṆA'S WORKS

By

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In ancient India men were not generally conscious of worldly affairs. It was, probably due to her culture which was more concerned with the other world than with the interests of this world and its material life. If they would have been inclined to write works like autobiographies and thus would feel interested in telling various stages of their life, social conditions of the period in which they flourished would be naturally found depicted in those works. In the Sanskrit literature there are some historical Kāvyas number of which is very meagre. According to A. A. Macdonell " No work of a directly historical character is met with in Sanskrit literature till after the Muhammadan conquest ". (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1965, p. 306). The practice of recording of imperial activities on the imperishable surface of stones is, undoubtedly helpful for shedding considerable light on the historical events of a certain period. There are three important inscriptions of Harṣa—Sonpat Copper Seal inscription, the Banskhera Copper plate inscription and the Madhuban Copper plate inscription. It is worthy of note that the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, during the Harṣa's reign toured (630—644 A.D.) almost all parts of India and made an account of what he got to know and see in course of his travelling. This account, no doubt leaves us with room for discovering the historical events. In the present article an attempts has been made to draw a social picture of Harṣa's period (i.e.c 7th A.D.) with the help of various materials available in the Bāṇa's two works—*Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*. The article contains separate heads including customs, popular beliefs, superstitions etc., without knowledge of which the civilization of an age cannot be realised thoroughly. Before completing the introduction we like to say while the *Harṣacarita* is mainly based on historical events, the *Kādambarī* bears a limpid flow of imagination because of its particular type known as *Kathā*. Now, if anybody thinks the *Kādambarī* to be a book devoid of any historical value, he will be absolutely wrong. It should be kept in mind an exaggeration can never be completely baseless; rather, it is based on substratum of truth.

Caste System

People of Harṣa's period had four castes—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. According to Hiuen Tsang there was also another caste known as

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mixed caste[1] origin of which is supposed to have taken place through intercourse between local people and others belonging to the class of Yavana, Mleccha etc. Of all castes the Brāhmaṇa were offered the highest tribute. While showing respect to the Brāhmaṇa, people generally did not take into consideration their qualities and accomplishments[2]. It was, perhaps due to the strong influence of the Brahmanical religion. It should be noted that the Brāhmaṇas of that period were the purest themselves also. Hiuen Tsang says (HTW. 1.140) that " the Brāhmaṇas were the purest and most esteemed of the various castes and classes of the country ". The other reason for this highly respect shown to the Brāhmaṇa, perhaps lies in the fact that the people of that period went through the religious books and tried their utmost to follow what is said therein in the form of instruction violation of which was considered a great sin[3]. A Brāhmaṇa was held in so high esteem that he, even proved to be an evil-doer was left unpunished. On seeing the sacred thread worn by Nāga, the king, Puṣpabhūti refrained from killing him[4]. Men were, then traditionally in habit of engaging themselves in the work prescribed by the *Śāstra*[5]. Sometimes, this habit is seen to be broken; e.g , Śukanāsa, a Brāhmaṇa by caste held the post of the minister[6] instead of spending his life by teaching, performing sacrifices etc.[7] People of Harṣa's period had somewhat class-consciousness. This sense grew strong, when there was one's sight at a Caṇḍāla. While intending to give up Rājyalakṣmī, Rājyavardhana compared her to a Caṇḍālinī covered with clothes with which corpses had been once shrouded.[8] That a Caṇḍāla was engaged in the vile activity, can be assumed from the fact that while hearing of Rājyavardhana's assassination by Śaśāṅka, under a pretext Harṣa said even a Caṇḍāla was not habituated to doing such cruel action.[9] Involvement of the Caṇḍāla in the cruel activities has also been mentioned in different places of Bāṇa's works.[10] Some aboriginal tribes such as Pulindas, Śabaras, Kirātas etc., have also been referred to.[11] These tribes used to live in the " hills and forests of the Vindhyas and other mountain ranges ".[12]

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[1] There are also the mixed castes : numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds and these cannot be described—Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1904, p. 168

[2] असंस्कृतमतयोऽपि जात्यैव द्विजन्मानो माननीयाः HC., I, p. 4

[3] ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वङ्गनागमः ।
महान्ति पातकान्याहुः संसर्गश्चापि तैः सह ॥ Manu, II, 54

[4] Vide HC., III, p. 52

[5] The Brahmins had no part in the industrial life of the country, but lived as non-economic men concerned only with the spiritual interests of life. The work of administration was taken over by the Kṣatriyas. Trade, inland and foreign, was in the hands of the Vaiśyas. Agriculture, the main industry of the country, was in the hands of the Śūdras —R. K. Mukarji's *Harsha*, p. 171

[6] अमात्यो ब्राह्मणः शुकनाशो नामासीत्— Kād. p. 97

[7] स्वधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्याध्ययनमध्यापनं यजनं याजनं दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चेति ।
—*Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Vidyāsamuddesaḥ Trayīsthāpanā,*
R. Basak's ed. (Cal.), Vol. I. p. 5

[8] See HC., VI, p. 39

Women's Position

A country can never be called civilized unless women therein are allowed to acquire the high position. In Harṣa's time women's position was not absolutely arrested in a very low condition. Though, both son and daughter were brought up with the same care, birth of the latter struck parents as particularly deplorable;[13] on the other hand birth of a son was desirable to all parents because of his capacity for rescuing them from a hell (known as *put*) after their death.[14] However, daughters absorbed special attention of their mother. It was due to their pitiable condition.[15] Child-marriage was then in vogue. Rājyaśrī was married, when she did not attain puberty.[16] In spite of her strong desire Divākaramitra did not accept Rājyaśrī as his disciple on the ground that she had not yet attained the proper age for conversion into Buddhism.[17] A few lines from the *Ancient India* by R. C. Majumdar may be quoted here—" The membership of the Buddhist Church was open to all persons, male or female, above fifteen years of age, irrespective of any class or caste distinction . . ." (ed. 1960, p. 163). This evidence confirms our conjecture that child marriage was in practice that time. Re-marriage on the part of widow was not the order of the day. Rājyaśrī who, shortly after marriage, became widow, spent her subsequent life without taking any second husband. The princess, Rājyaśrī grew up with daily increasing knowledge of dancing, singing and other arts. In the prime of youth, the princess, Kādambari and Lady Mahāśvetā were taught singing, dancing and other accomplishments.[18] Women were then allowed to go through the religious books. The epic *Mahābhārata* was of great popularity to them.[19] In the light of these evidences some are inclined to surmise women were then not deprived of their share in the cultural life.

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[9] HC., VI, p. 44

[10] (a) See HC., p. 47
(b) See HC., VI, p. 46

[11] (a) See Kād., p. 45
(b) See Kād., p. 72

[12] Vide Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's *History And Culture of the Indian People*, Volume III, p. 563

[13] See HC., IV, p. 13

[14] Kād., p. 104

[15] केवलं कृपाकृतविशेषः सुदूरेण तनयस्नेहाददतिरिच्यते दुहितृस्नेहः । HC, IV,, p. 13

[16] R. K. Mukerji's *Harsha* p. 177

[17] Vide 9th Chap. *Harṣacarita*—a Bengali essay by Pramatha Choudhury.

Truly speaking, our knowledge of women's position at that time, is very scanty. Whatever is known is mostly enlightened by the life of ladies of noble birth. No general opinion should be formed with materials collected from such life, because, what is easy for a princess appears very often to be difficult for the girl belonging to the ordinary family because of various problems (social, financial etc.) which are, of course, apt to interrupt their smooth advance in the field of all kinds of improvements.

As to whether Satī was the order of the day let me discuss under the following heading :

Customs

In the Bāṇa's works various customs are referred to. Inter-caste marriage was then in practice. Bāṇa refers to two brothers named Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa who were sons of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdra.[20] Junior in age never sat until the senior took seat firstly.[21] This was the canon of the conduct universally followed in those days. After taking meal people of that period would get assembled and hear of the recitation of the selected portions from the sacred texts, sometimes charged with tunes.[22] This leads us to surmise that people then were not in habit of taking nap by day. Self-immolation was current among the widow. The wife whose husband breathed his last abroad was allowed to burn herself with *pādukā* of the deceased. Before embracing death Yaśomatī, frightened with the idea of being widow took her husband's *prāsayaṣṭi*.[23] It should be noted here, Satī was never then enforced; rather, it was completely voluntary. Yaśomatī was repeatedly forbidden by her second son, the prince Harṣa, but to no effect. Divākaramitra's advice to Rājyaśrī ready to burn herself in the forest echoed the Buddhists' protest also.[24] Rasāyana, who was brought up by Prabhākaravardhana with the same care shown to his own two sons had taken resort to suicide before the king died.[25] Thus it appears that suicide was then in practice. But, it was strongly condemned. It is the *Kādambarī* where Candrāpīḍa raised his protestive voice against this vile action in course of giving consolation to Mahāśvetā grieved with separation from Puṇḍarīkākṣa who had already died.[26] That games of chess were not unknown in those days is evident from the fact that wrinkles on forehead of the angry sage, Durvāsas were compared to the lines on a chessboard.[27] To promise an offering to a deity i.e., *Upajācitaka*[28] was the order of the day. Having no news about the prince Candrāpīḍa for a long time, the queen Vilāsavatī grew anxious and entered the temple with the object of praying God.[29] While returning to the palace after having news about father's illness Harṣa saw many a man engaged in promising offer in front of temple so that the king, Prabhākaravardhana might come round in no time.[30]

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[18] Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's *History And Culture of The Indian People*, Volume III, p. 568

[19] From the *Kādambarī* we learn that then as now the *Mahābhārata* was a favourite book with all, especially with women. The *Harshacharita* also dwells upon the popularity of the great epic — P. V. Kane's introduction to his edition of the *Harshacharita*, p. XXXIX

[20] भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ HC., I. p. 19

[21] Vide, HC. III. p. 38

[22] HC. III. p. 39

[23] HC. V, p. 29

[24] HC. VIII. p. 84-85

Religion

Of the three religions namely Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism the first was, undoubtedly, popular. That this religion was very popular is evident from the fact that to the foreigners India was then known as a country of the Brāhmaṇa. The cultured class of that period (perhaps, the Brāhmaṇa) used to speak in Sanskrit which was also adopted by the Buddhist writers. This also confirms our conjecture. Moreover, if the Brahmanical religion would not have been so strong, origin of numerous ascetic sects (some wearing peacok's tail, some covering the body with grass, some smearing themselves with ashes etc.,) would be quite impossible.[31] Under the extreme influence of the Hinduism various schools of thought such as followers of Kṛṣṇa, Kapila, Kaṇāda etc., assumed then the final form. There were also the worshippers of Śiva, Caṇḍī, Viṣṇu, Mahākāla etc. Reference to the *Caṇḍīśataka* and the *Sūryaśataka* by Bāṇa and Mayūra respectively may be made here to show the popularity of these two deities i.e., Caṇḍī and Sūrya. Idolatry was current even among the Buddhist belonging to the Mahāyāna school. Worship of images of Śāriputra, Maudgala-putra Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula was noticed by Hiuen Tsang at Mathurā.[32] People of that period were not intolerant of other's religion. The sight of a naked Jain was considered an evil omen.[33] It really bears the testimony to the refined taste of people. No rigidity in respect of worship to God was maintained by the Royal family. Puṣpabhūti was a devotee of Śiva. Prabhākaravardhana was a staunch devotee of Sun; but Harṣa was in favour of worshipping Śiva.[34] In the benedictory verses of the dramas—*Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśika*, Śiva was offered a considerable importance.[35] In the *Nāgānanda*, however, Harṣa invoked Buddha in the *Nāndīśloka*. In Kālidāsa's period also Śaivism exercised a great influence. That Kālidāsa was himself a Śaiva is known from the benedictory verses of his works.[36] However, Harṣa had a great respect for the Buddhism. It is known from the different facts one of which is that his reluctance and repugnance shown at the time of ascending the throne laid vacant due to the sudden demise of Grahavarman was removed by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara " who promised him secret help, but warned him not to occupy the actual throne and not to use the title Mahārāja.[37] Though not strongly like the Brahmanica religion, the Buddhism especially the school of Mahāyāna influenced people to great extent. It is to be admitted that on the whole the Buddhism was then o wane. The Jainism also failed to create any permanent impression upon th mind of the people.

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[25] HC. V. p. 26

[26] Kād. p. 264

[27] HC. I. p. 3

[28] यद्दीयते देवताभ्यो मनोराज्यस्य सिद्धये ।
उपयाचितकं दिव्यदोहदं तद्विदुर्बुधाः ॥
Pt. Tarasankar Kaviratna, Bengali translation of Kādambarī by Basumati Publication, Calcutta, p. 374

[29] Kād. p. 108

[30] HC. V. p. 21

[31] R. K. Mukerji's *Harsha* p. 121

Popular Beliefs and Superstitions

It is generally seen that some beliefs spontaneously grow upon people.

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[32] R. K. Mukerji's *Harsha* p. 140

[33] HC. V. p. 20

[34] The inscriptions of Harsha show that even in the royal family the was no strict adherence to a particular deity or form of faith. The three imm diate ancestors of Harsha are described as great devotees of the Sun (*Paramā tyabhaktaḥ*) Bāṇa tells us that Puṣpabhūti, the remote ancestor of Harsha, w a devout worshipper of Śiva. But, Bāṇa himself describes how Prabhākar vardhana everyday devoutly worshipped the Sun with red flowers. Harsha ca himself a devout worshipper of Śiva (*Paramamāheśvaraḥ*).

— P. V. Kane's introduction to his edition of
Harṣacarita, p. XXXVIII—IX

[35] R. K. Mukerji's *Harsha* p. 142

[36] Benedictory verse of the drama, *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* is to mentioned firstly in this connection. The second line जगत: पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ of the first stanza of the *Raghuvamśam* deserves here special mention. The su ject matter of the *Kumārasambhava* concerning the birth of Kārtikeya, son Mahādeva and Pārvatī is also to be noted here.

[37] Vide R. K. Mukerji's *Harsha* p. 20

will be totally out of place to try to build any argument whether these beliefs have any basis or not. In Bāṇa's works many such beliefs are referred to.

Passing of a deer to the left of the lion without caring for the latter indicated his immediate fall. In obedience to the same belief misfortune of Harṣa regarded as lion was suggested.[38] In the *Kādambarī* we find passing of a dear to the right of women appeared to be an evil omen.[39] The crowing of crows indicated something evil.[40] The throbbing of the left eye was regarded as evil sign for men.[41] The falling of stars portended evil also.[42] To see a bad dream was looked upon as an indication of something evil to be taken place. In a dream Harṣa saw tower of iron touching the cloud to be broken.[43] It was, indeed an indicatlon of fall of Rājyavardhana.

Let me now refer to some events regarded as auspicious omens. Jars full of water were indicative of good and that they were kept at the sides of doors of houses. Such jars were also placed at the head of a bed so that evil spirits might go away.[44] In the *Kādambarī* we find two such jars kept at the door of lying-in-room of the queen, Vilāsavatī.[45] Flames of fire kindled for oblation indicated good luck, when they were curved to the right.[46] A man having arms reaching the knees, a long nose and a broad forehead was considered a possessor of great prosperity and high position.[47]

Dreams seen at dawn were believed to come to be true.[48] The *abhicārakriyā* known as means of achievement of evil purpose was in practice.[49] From this it transpires that the influence of the *Atharvaveda* was then largely felt. Men having magical collyrium in their eyes were said to be able to bring others under their subjugation.[50] Thus, other beliefs can also be cited. However, most of the beliefs referred to above, were certainly due to the influence of books on religion, astronomy etc. It has already been said people of Bāṇa's period were generally religious minded and were mostly in habit of being swept away by what is instructed in such books. There were also other beliefs which had no link with religious matter. They are apt to be called superstitions. Some of the above mentioned beliefs were handed down to people who were certainly fond of following what had been carefully maintained by their predecessors. Perhaps, it was due to the idea that break of such continuity was sure to cause them a great sin. In our mind stand out some of these beliefs still. Though we are now largely advanced in science, some of these superstitions continue exercising impact as before.

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[38] HC. V. p. 20
[39] See Kād. p. 325
[40] (a) HC. V. p. 21
(b) HC. V. p. 23
[41] HC. VI. p. 43
[42] HC. VI. p. 43
[43] HC. VI. p. 42
[44] निद्राकलसेन राजतेन विसाजमानं वासगृहम्— HC. IV. p. 18
[45] Kād p. 114
[46] HC. IV. p. 6
[47] HC. VI. p. 49
[48] अवितथफलाश्च प्रायो निशावसानसमयदृष्टा भवन्ति स्वप्नाः । Kād. p. 110
[49] HC. V. p. 21
[50] HC. p. 10

Ornaments and Wearings

Women were then as now fond of decorating themselves with various ornaments. Such decoration was not for widows. They used to keep their hair rolling on the back, while others, having husbands alive, used to tie their hair into three braids.[51] Women were largely fond of decking their feet with *alaktaka*. Use of rings made of conch-shells was in use.[52] In the *Harṣacarita* various materials of which garments were composed are referred to—e.g., flax, cotton, bark-silk, threads of saliva etc.[53] Reference to various ear-ornaments is made in the Bāṇa's works. They were *tālapatra*, *dantapatra*, *tālīputa* etc.[54] *Pārihārya*[55] (bracelet) and *prālamva* (necklece) were abundantly used. Ornaments worn on hair were known as *candralekhā*, *makarikā* etc.[56] *Mekhalā* and *nūpura* are also referred to.[57] Men, particularly of noble birth were in habit of using ornaments.[58] As dress two pieces of cloth were generally used by both men and women. One was upper garment and the other lower. During abstract meditation ascetics used to wear *yogapaṭṭikā*, a piece of garment made of skin of either tiger or deer.[59] Parivrājaka used to wear red garments. Use of *uṣṇīṣa* (turban) was not unknown to men of Harṣa's period.[60] The high-born ladies used to wear the veil.[61] But, that this practice was not followed with extreme rigidity can be proved from the fact that the princess, Rājyaśrī sat in public, though behind the king to hear the discourse of the discerning Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang.[62] Ascetic women then used to wear sacred thread. There is reference to wearing of such thread by ladies.[63]

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[51] HC. VIII. p. 57 — Suggestive meaning is to be taken here.

[52] HC. I p. 4

[53] HC. IV. p. 14

[54] (a) Kād. p. 40
(b) Kād. p. 22 and p. 143
(c) Kād. p. 161

[55] Kād. p. 144

[56] See Kād., p. 138

[57] (a) HC. I. p. 3
(b) HC. II. p. 33
(c) Kād. p. 34

[58] Ornaments were freely used by the kings and grandees. Garlands and bejewelled tiaras were used for the head, and rings, bracelets and necklaces for the body. Wealthy merchants used only bracelets.

—R. K. Mukerji's *Harsha* pp. 170-71

Conclusion

Thus, we can collect various materials which, to a great extent, are undoubtedly helpful for drawing a vivid picture of the social condition of that period. Though account prepared by H. Tsang gives us various informations, it would not be improper, if there be divergence of opinion among the scholars as to how much those informations have strong foundations. Hiuen Tsang was a foreigner. Had he found ample scope of closely mixing with Indians during his short stay? Here, we must say, a man who has already entered a reservoir of water, can tell us about its depth. But a man standing only by its side fails to give us reliable information. Bāṇa was the court-poet of Harṣa. So, the *Harṣacarita* must contain exaggerated eulogies of Harṣa. Now, if anybody asks how far truth underlies the facts depicted in that book, it should be said that the social state reflected therein bears, of course, some reality. According to Hiuen Tsang no inter-caste marriage was in vogue in India. Simultaneously, it should be kept in mind that in the *Harṣacarita* there is a reference to two brothers named Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa who were sons of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdra woman. In the Kālidāsa's drama, *Mālavikāgnimitra* there is also reference to inter-caste marriage.[64] However, in obedience to such evidence it would not be proper and circumspect to guess inter-caste marriage was largely prevalent during that time. But, it can not also be denied offsprings of parents belonging to different castes were not prevented from mixing with all including even Brāhmaṇa. It is known from the fact that the two brothers, as mentioned above, accompanied Bāṇa, while travelling, who came of an orthadox Brāhmaṇa family.

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[59] Kād. p. 216

[60] (a) HC. I. p. 9
(b) HC. II. p. 28

[61] HC. III. p. 44

[62] Vide R. K. Mukerji's *Harsha* p. 177

[63] (a) HC. p. 3
(b) Kād. p. 212

[64] बकुलावलिका—अस्ति देव्या वर्णावरो भ्राता वीरसेनो नाम ।
— Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 1st Act.

From the Bāṇa's works it obviously transpires, civilization was then gradually losing its brilliance. Along with the soldiery going to their destination there were some aged women known as Cundī who were meant for making young women engaged in the work of prostitution.[65] Can such women accompany the soldier in public in a civilized country ? It was indeed a sign of moral degradation. Hard-working people were then often deprived of their due reward which was unjustly offered to other non-attached to the work.[66] In a country getting more civilized, dissatisfaction is never felt by the poverty-smitten people because of exploitation for which administration is, of course, partly responsible. Other complaints coming from the peasantry are also to be mentioned. These peasants were exasperated with rage against the king. They got assembled to protest to the process adopted by King's men to forcibly reap their field.[67] Out of such exasperation these poor men continued condemning the king even at the risk of their lives. Among the people assembled to have a glance at the king there was a section of people known as Jālma who remained engaged in forcibly occupying the tax-free-land offered to the Brāhmaṇa.[68] Practice of *abhicārakriyā*, no doubt, bears a mark of meanmindedness, helplessness and disbelief. In the fifth *Ucchvāsa* of the *Harṣacarita* men were seen to be engaged in doing such *kriyā* even with flesh cut off from their own body. In the *Kādambarī* we find also a man who was engaged in the work prescribed by the Tantraśāstra to attract women. If any body says Bāṇa took resort to describing such scenes only to create a peculiar sentiment, *bhayānaka*, we must say such argument is not enough to prove non-performance of the above mentioned *kriyā* that time. Because, what is quite absent from the material life can never be described especially in a book based on history. Flow of culturally civilization was also then somewhat interrupted. Truly speaking, almost no good literary work was composed that time as was created by Kālidāsa.[69] Then, more importance was laid on grammatical works than that of literary ones. Study of grammar was also then stressed. It is known from the fact that on his return from the capital Bāṇa asked his fellowmen whether they studied grammar as usual.[70] This question had been asked before he expressed his desire to know about their study of the Kāvyas. In the works written at that time a strenuous attempt was mainly made to follow the rules of poetics as were shown in the rhetoric. To speak the truth, people had also strong liking for books displaying author's scholarship in various branches of learning and his success in following the said rules which often bring the work to a state of artificiality.

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[65] HC., VII. p. 54

[66] HC. VII. p. 58

[67] HC. VII. p. 58

[68] HC. VII. p. 58

[69] Though Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*, Bhaṭṭi's *Rāvaṇavadha*, Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* etc., occupy a glorious place in the Sanskrit literature, they are not akin to the Kālidāsa's works because of some artificiality assumed through author's attempts in following the rules of poetics,

[70] HC. III. p. 38

The points enumerated above lead us to surmise that a deteriorating stage was gradually advancing onward from the time of Harṣa in the field of culture and civilization.

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TWO NOTES ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE GILGIT MANUSCRIPTS

By
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The discovery of the Gilgit Manuscripts is one of the most important Sanskrit manuscripts finds of the twentieth century, together with those found in Central Asia by the European expeditions and in Tibet by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. Soon after their discovery, Nalinaksha Dutt started to decipher the manuscripts and the result of his work appeared in his voluminous *Gilgit Manuscri ts* 4 volumes in 9 parts.[1] Two Indian learned scholars, Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra published the facsimile edition of the *Gilgit Manuscripts* (abbr. : FE).[2] Even though this does not contain all Gilgit folios, it is this FE that promoted and stimulated the studies of the Gilgit Manuscripts.[3] Every student of the Gilgit Manuscripts expresses willingly his thanks to two editors of FE. Since the descriptions about the manuscripts, which are given in their introduction to FE, is not always final one, it may be a duty for users of FE to correct it and to provide with new informations. Below I am going to point out two matters.

I

Serial No. 13 contains some Avadānas and various minor Sūtra-texts. At left margin of obverse of each folio the original folio number is given in numerical symbols.[4] Because most of folios are suffered from damage at the left

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[1] Dutt, Nalinaksha, ed., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, 4 volumes in 9 parts, Srinagar-Calcutta, 1939-1959.

[2] Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, eds. *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts* (*Facsimile Edition*). Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 10. 1-10. International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1959-1973.

[3] A detailed bibliography surveying the Gilgit Manuscripts studies so far is given in Oskar von Hinüber, "Die Erforschung der Gilgit—Handschriften (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit—Handschriften, I)," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, I. Phil.-hist. Kl, Jg 1979 Nr. 12, pp. 327[1]-360[33] ; do., "Nachtrag" *Zeitchrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 130 (1980), pp. *25*-*26*; do., "Neue Ergebnisse," *Ibid.*, 131 (1981), pp. *9*-*11*; Hisashi Matsumura, "Recent Studies of the Gilgit Manuscripts," *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (Dec. 1985), pp. 148-151.

[4] A brief description of these numerical symbols is given by P. V. Bapat, "Gilgit Manuscripts and Numerical Symbols," *Journal of Oriental Institute* (*Baroda*), 11 (1961/62), pp. 127-131.

side, it is impossible to rearrange all folios in the correct order. In spite of such unfavorable situation we can read folio number which is extant in a few folios. Following up this clue, it may be possible to reconstruct the original order of folios to a certain degree. FE 1524-1535 retain the original folio numbers and those are read by the editors of FE as 114-119. However, this reading should be corrected into 184-189. In FE 1524, although the third figure is damaged, the shape of the symbol for the second figure is clear enough to be read as "80". Bapat's table of numerals is helpful, but if we compare the second figure of this folio to the symbol which appears in FE 872-891 whose original folio numbers are 180-189, it is more evident that the second figure indicates "80". It was already pointed out that FE 1585 immediately precedes FE 1524 (i.e. 184a),[5] so it is a logical conclusion that FE 1584/85 must be 183. In FE 1584, the obverse of FE 1585, we can read only the first figure 3, by which the whole figure can be restored into [18]3. FE 1581-1585 belong to the one text, the *Prasenajidgāthā*,[6]* in this order. FE 1507 and 1576-1581 belong to the *Adbhutadharmaparyāya*[7] and FE 1487-1507 to the *Candraprabhâvadāna*.[8] The reading of the original folio numbers 110-111 of FE 1520-1523 by the editors of FE should be corrected into 190-191 by the same way. If we tabulate the result of the above observation, we get :

1486	[168]	a		1578	[180]	a	
1487		b		1579		b	
1488	[169]	a		1580	[181]	a	
1489		b		1581		b	
1490	[170]	a		1582	[182]	a	*Prasenajid-gāthā*
1491		b		1583		b	
1492	[171]	a		1584	[18]3	a	
1493		b		1585		b	*Pradakṣiṇa-gāthā*
1494	[172]	a		1524	184	a	
1495		b		1525		b	
1496	[173]	a		1526	185	a	
1497		b		1527		b	**Caitya-gāthā*
1498	[174]	a	*Candraprabhâvadāna*	1528	186	a	
1499		b		1529		b	
1500	[175]	a		1530	187	a	
1501		b		1531		b	
1502	[176]	a		1532	188	a	
1503		b		1533		b	
1504	[17]7	a		1534	189	a	
1505		b		1535		b	
1506	[17]8	a		1520	190	a	
1507		b		1521		b	
1576	[17]9	a		1522	191	a	
1577		b	*Adbhutadharmaparyāya*	1523		b	

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[5] Matsumura, Junko, *Bonbun Unyōbuttō-kudoku-kyō* (M.A. thesis, Univ sity of Tokyo, Dec. 1980). The new edition of this text together with th **Caityagāthā* is presented in Hisashi and Junko Matsumura, *Two Sūtras on th Stūpa Worship from the Gilgit Manuscripts* (in preparation).

* Vide foot-note nos. 6, 7 and 8 on next page.

II

The Gilgit Manuscripts contain the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin and the printed edition of this text was published by Anukul Chandra Banerjee three times :

"The Prātimokṣa Sūtra," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 29 (1953), pp. 162-174, 266-275, 363-377.

Prātimokṣa-sūtram (*Mūlasarvāstivāda*). Calcutta Oriental Press, Calcutta 1954.

Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit : Prātimokṣa Sūtra and Bhikṣukarmavākya, The world Press Private Limited, Calcutta 1977.

Of these three the second one is an exact reproduction of the first and in the third edition its introduction is prolonged, however, as far as the Sanskrit text is conerned, there is quite little change among these three. Banerjee's edition was esteemed highly by Ch. S. Prebish who translated this Sanskrit text into English. Prebish says, " Banerjee's training and experience attest to his proficiency in working with Sanskrit materials, " because " he was Lecturer in Pāli and Sanskrit at Calcutta University. "[9] Putting aside the logicality of this statement, nobody will deny Banerjee's contribution in introducing the Sanskrit text of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin to the academic world for the first time. Nevertheless, in using his edition we sometimes embarrassed.[10] The biggest problem is that we do not know which manuscript or manuscripts Banerjee used. At the time when Banerjee prepared his edition, the serial numbers had not given to the Gilgit Manuscripts yet. Therefore, there is no other way tnan to deter-

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[6] This Sanskrit manuscript is complete, although the number of verses is less than that of its Tibetan translation (Narthang No. 307, Lhasa No. 326, Derge No. 322, Cone No. 961, Peking No. 988). Its Tibetan version was translated by Shirō Sakai, "Tōba-konryū eno kudoku," *Mikkyō-gakkai-hō*, 15 (1976), pp. 1-7.

[7] The synoptical edition of this text and the *Kūṭāgārasūtra* will be published by the present writer.

[8] This text was edited in Hisashi Matsumura, *Four Avadānas from the Gilgit Manuscripts* (Canberra [Diss.], 1980), pp. 79-118.

[9] Prebish, Charles S., *Buddhist Monastic Discipline : The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins* (= IASWR Series) (University Park : The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), p. 37. In this book Prebish spells Ankul instead of Anukul throughout and this spelling is followed incidentally in K. R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (= A History of Indian Literature, Vol. VII, 2) (Wiesbaden : Harrasowitz, 1983), p. 20 n. 19

[10] Some examples are given in Hisashi Matsumura, " A Note on *Stūpa* in the Vinaya Literature " (in press).

mine or guess this question by comparing Banerjee's printed edition and the facsimile edition. At moment we have at least three manuscripts of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* in the Gilgit Manuscripts. These three are found respectively in the Serial Nos. 2, 3 and 4. The first one. Ser, No. 2, was published by Lokesh Chandra[11] and it is beyond doubt that this was not used by Banerjee. It is also clear that Ser. No. 3 is a basic manuscript for Banerjee's edition.[12] The question is whether Banerjee used Ser. No. 4 or not. In Ser. No. 4 eight folios belong to the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. Thc order of these folios should be rearranged as follows :

141	×	a	*pāyattikā*	4–10
142		b		11–17
139	× + 1	a		17–24
140		b		25–31
144	× + 2	a		32–37
143		b		37–45
138	× + 3	a		45–51
137		b		51–55
149	× + 4	a		55–57
150		b		57
(some folios are missing)				
131	26	a	*pratideśanīya*	2–4
132		b	*pratideśanīya* 4, *śaikṣa*	1–8
135	27	a	*śaikṣa*	9–38
136		b		39–57
133	28	a		58–75
134		b		75–101

Oskar von Hinüber reads the original folio number of 135/136 as " 26' and he regards the folio 135/136 belonging to neither Ser. Nos. 2, 3 nor othe seven folios of Ser. No. 4.[13] I could consult only FE and the photo of th numerical symbol is not clear enough to decipher exclusively. In this point it seems to be better for us to wait the appearance of the final work on this manuscript by von Hinüber, who had an experience of cheking manuscripts themselves.

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[11] Lokesh Chandra, " Unpublished Gilgit Fragment of the Prātimokṣasūtra, " *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd und Ostasiens*, 4 (1960), pp. 1-1

[12] So is it thought by Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit* , p. 1 and Hinüber, " Erforschung ", p. 341 [15].

[13] Hinüber, " Erforschung ", p. 342 [16]; Cf. also do., " Eine Karmavācanā-Sammlung aus Gilgit, " *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, 119 (1970), p. 103; do., " Die Bestimmung der Schulzugehörigke buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kriterien, " in H. Bechert, ed., *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, Erster Teil (= Symposien zu Buddhismusforschung, III, 1) (= Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl, 3. Folge, Nr. 149) (Göttingen: vandenhoec and Ruprecht, 1985), p. 59, n. 7.

In Ser. No. 3 between FE 53 (= 23a; FE 54 = 23b is blank ?) and FE 55 (= 36a) some folios are missing. In this lacuna the rules from *pāyattikā* 23 to *śaikṣa* 80 must have been given. Banerjee distinguishes the text attested in the manuscript itself from his own restoration by putting the latter between square brackets. In his edition the rules from *pāyattikā* 57 to *pratideśanīya* 2 are put between square brackets and by this convention it is shown that this portion is his own restoration based on the Tibetan translation or Finot's edition of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādin.[14] This fact proves that the rules from *pāyattikā* 23 to 57 are not Banerjee's restoration but a text attested in the manuscript. Banerjee does not say whether this manuscript is of Ser. No. 3 (if so, it is now lost), or of Ser. No. 4. However, if we compare *Pāyattikā* 23-57 of Banerjee's edition and those of Ser. No. 4, we will soon notice the close similarity between them. Through this observation it is strongly assumed that Banerjee would have used, in the case where folios of Ser. No. 3 are missing, Ser. No. 4 as a basic manuscript. The relevant folios of Ser. No. 4 get damage of about three syllables of each line at the left side. Let us quote examples from FE 144 together with Banerjee's edition :

Ser. No. 4 *bhikṣavaḥ khalu saṃvahulā* (144.2) [ ] *saṃkkrāmeyus tāṃś..*
Banerjee[15] *bhikṣavaḥ khalu saṃbahulāḥ* [*kulāni*] *saṃkrāmayeyus tāṃś..*

Ser. No. 4 *pratigrahītavyā tata uttari* (144.3) [ ] *hṇīyuḥ pāyattikā* ॥
Banerjee[16] *..pratigrahītavyāḥ tata uttari* [*prati*] *gṛhṇīyuḥ pāyantika* ।

Ser. No. 4 *pravāṛitam akṛtāniriktena khā* (144.5)[ ] *bhojanīyenātyarthaṃ..*
Banerjee[17] *..pravāritaṃ akṛtātirikte khā* [*danīya*] *bhojanīyenetyarthaṃ..*

Ser. No. 4 *gaṇa* (144.6) [ ]*d anyatra samayāt pāyattikā* ॥
Banerjee[18] *gaṇa* [*bhojonā*]*d anyatra samayāt pāyantikā* ।

Such examples can be added more with ease, but the above may suffice in order to indicate the coincidence of the lacunae. Next, I would like to quote a more decisive instance.

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[14] Finot, Louis, " Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins avec la version chinoise de Kumārajīva traduite en français par M. Edouard Huber, " *Journal Asiatique*, nov.-déc. 1913, pp. 465-558.

[15] *Pāyattikā* 33; p. 274 (the first ed.) = p. 22 (the second ed.) = p. 35 (the third ed.).

[16] *loc. cit.*

[17] *Pāyattikā* 35; p. 275 = p. 23 = 35.

[18] *Pāyattikā* 36; p. 275 = p. 23 = p. 35.

Ser. No. 4, FE 136. 1-4
satkṛtya piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā ||
samatittikaṃ samasūpikaṃ (136.2) *sāvadānaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāma*
' *iti śikṣā karaṇīyā* '
nānāgate khādanīyabhojanīye pāttram upnāmayíṣyāmaḥ nopari khādanīya-
bhojanīyasya pāttraṃ dhārayiṣyāmaḥ noda (136.3) *nena sūpikaṃ praticchā-*
*dayiṣyāma*O*sūpikena vā odanaṃ bhūyaskāmatām upādāyeti śikṣā karaṇīyā* ||

Banerjee[19]

40 *satkṛtya piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā* ।
41 *samatīrthikaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyān.a iti śikṣā karaṇīyā* ।
42 *samasūpikaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyá* ।
43 *sāvadānaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā* ।
44 *na anāgate khādanīyabhojanīye pātram upanāmayiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā* ।
45 *nodanena sūpikaṃ praticchādayiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā* ।
46 *sūpikena vā odanaṃ bhūyaskāmatām upādāya iti śikṣā karaṇīyā* ।
47 *nopari khādanīyabhojanīyasya pātram dhārayiṣyāma iti śiksā karaṇīyā* ।

In order to characterize the above quotations from two sources let us contrast them with the Tibetan translation of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and the related items of the *Mahāvyutpatti*.

legs[1]-par zas blań-bar bslab-par bya/mu dań kha da([2]/[2]) chad[3]-du ma yin-pa dań/tshod-ma dań[4] mñam-par ma yin-pa[5] dań/[6] thar[7] chags-su([8]/[8]) dań/ lhuń-bzed-la lta-ba dań/bca '-ba dań bza'-ba ma 'ońs-par lhuń-bzed mi bzed[10]-pa dań/[11] yań 'dod-pa'i phyir 'bras-chan[12]-gyis tshod-ma mi dgab[13]/[14] tshod-ma 'bras-chan mi dgab-pa[15] dań/bca'-ba dań bza '-ba'i steń-du lhuń-bzed[16] n gzuń-bar bslab-par bya'o//

1. V *leg*. 2. P *khań*. 3. P *tshad*; V *cad*. 4. V om. 5. P *ba*. 6. P om 7. H V *mthar*. 8. V. *chagsu*. 9. D P om. 10. V *zed*. 11. P om. 12. P *can* 13. P. *dgap*. 14. P om. 15. P *ba*. 16. V adds *ni*.

D = sDe-dge Ca 18b2-4 = Karmapa reprint Vol. 5.36. 2-4; H = 1 Ha-s Ca 26b5-27a 1 = Bonn Xerox Bd. 5. 15.3,5-14.4. 1; P = Peking Che 16a6-8 = Tokyo reprint Vol. 42.148.4.6-8; V = Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, "So-sor-thar pa; or, a Code of Buddhist Monastic Laws : Being the Tibetan version o Prātimokṣa of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda School," *Journal of the Asiatic Society o Bengal*, Vol. XI, nos. 3 and 4 [N.S.] (March and April 1915), p. 129 (probabl based on sNar-thań).

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[19] *Śaikṣa* 40-47; 372-3 = p. 33 = p. 50.

Māhāvyutpatti, Sakaki ed. 8564-8570 = CCLXII. 40-46.[20]

8564 *satkṛtya pīṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāmaḥ* 8565 *na samatīrthikam*, 8566 *na samasūpikam*, 8567 *sāvadānam*, 8568 *pātrasaṃjñinaḥ*, 8569 *nānāgate khādanīye bhojanīye pātram upanāmayiṣyāmaḥ*, 8570 *na odanena sūpikaṃ praticchādayiṣyāmaḥ sūpikena vā odanam.*

From the comparison of Banerjee's edition (and Ser. No. 4) with the Tibetan version and the *Mahāvyutpatti*, we will soon notice that Banerjee's edition and Ser. No. 4 lack one rule, between 43 and 44, which corresponds to *Mvy* 8568 and the Tibetan *lnuṅ-bzed-la lta-ba*. Because the existance of this rule is confirmed by another Gilgit fragment published by Lockesh Chandra (Ser. No. 2), it is supposed that its omission might have been produced by a simple scribal error. This common error which is shared by more than two materials is called a conjunctive error, which indicates that these materials belong to the same source.[21] One more remarkable fact is that a counterpart of Banerjee's No. 47 is not found in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. In the fragment of Ser. No. 4 rules occur in the order 47, 45, 46[22] and the order of Banerjee's edition agrees completely with that of the Tibetan translation. The order 45, 46, 47 may be the result of Banerjee's rearrangement based on the Tibetan version. On this point Ser. No. 2

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[20] The readings of Sakaki's edition should be sometimes reconsidered by consulting other editions; Alexander Csoma de Körös, *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary* 3 parts (= Memoires of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV, nos. 1-3) (Calcutta, 1910, 16, 44); repr. in *Collected Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös* (Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), CLVII(248).38-44, p. 228; I. P. Minajev—N. D. Mironov, *Mahāvyutpatti* (= Bibliotheca Buddhica 13) (Sanktpeterburg, 1911), 263, 41-47, pp. 105-6; Unrai Wogihara, *Bon-kan taiyaku Bukkyō-jiten* (Tokyo : Heigo-shuppansha, 1929; repr. Tkyo : Sankibō, 1959), 263. 41-47, p. 220; Lokesh Chandra, *Quadrilingual Mahāvyutpatti* (= Śata-Piṭaka Series 277) (New Delhi : International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981), 289a (original leaf number is 288a); bsTan-'gyur Peking ed., mDo-'grel Go 299a7-b2 = Tokyo repr. Vol. 144.64.5. 7-65. 1.2. Some textual problems are discussed in Matsumura, " A Note on *stūpa* in the Vinaya Literature ".

[21] For this principle of textual criticism see P. Maas, " Leitfehler und stemmatische Typen, " *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 37 (1937), pp. 289-292 = *Textkritik*, 4. Aufl. (Leipzig : Teubner, 1960), pp. 26-30. Cf. also Hisashi Matsumura, *The Mahāsudarśanāvadāna and the Mahāsudarśanasūtra* (in press), n. 9.

[22] 45 and 46 should be regarded as one rule, as found in Mvy 8570, *Pāli Pātimokkha* no. 3, *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin* no. 46 (ed. Tatia), *Sarvāstivādin* no. 83, (ed. Finot).

which lacks this portion does not help at all. Be the matter as it may, it is the case that Banerjee's edition and Ser. No. 4 share two remarkable traits.

It is also interesting to examine the portions where both Ser. No. 3 and Ser. No. 4 are extant.

Banerjee[23] *yaḥ punar bhikṣur mātṛgrāmasyottari ṣaṭpaṃcikayā vācā dhar-maṃ deśayed* [*anyatra vijñapu*] *ruṣāt pāyantikā* ।

Ser. No. 3 *yaḥ pu* [.] *rāmasyottare ṣaṭpaṃcikayā vācā dharmmaṃ deśayed a*[.] *y* [.] (50.2) [.] *uṣāi pāyattikā* · ॥

Ser. No. 4 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur mmātṛgrāmasyottariṣaṭpaṃcikayā vācā dharm-maṃ deśa* (141.2) [.] *yatra vijñapuruṣāt pāyattikā* ॥

It is probable that Banerjee's reading *mātṛgrāmasyottari* was taken from Ser. No. 4, on the contrary his reading of the last half of this rule is based on Ser No. 3, that is shown by his use of square brackets.

Banerjee[24] *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ pūrvaṃ samanujño*[8] *bhūtvā tataḥ paścād evaṃ vaded* [*yathā*][9] *saṃstutikayāyuṣmantaḥ* (8 Ms. saparatne; Tib. legs-par-ruṅ-bar-byas-nas. 9 Tib. ḥdi-ltar-shes-por-bya-ste.)

Ser. No. 3 *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ pūrvaṃ samanu* [.]*ñ*[.] *bhūtvā tataḥ paścād evaṃ vade* [.] *y* [. . .] *saṃstutikayāyuṣmantaṃḥ*. . .

Ser. No. 4 *yaḥ* (141.1) [ ] *nar bhikṣuḥ pūrvaṃ samanujño bhūtvā tata paścāOd evaṃ vaded yathāsaṃstutikayāyuṣmanta*. .

samanu [.]*ñ*[.] in Ser. No. 3 is so unclear that Banerjee might have misread i as *saparatne* which is given in his footnote. *yathā* is worn out only in Ser. No. 3 Here Benerjee confined his use of manuscripts to Ser. No. 3.

Benerjee[25] . . *prātimokṣasūtroddeśair uccāryamānair*[1] *yāni*. . (1 Ms. *prāti-mokṣasūtroddeśa uccāryā*; Tib. So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo-gdon-pa-bton-pa-dag-gis.)

Ser. No. 3 . . .*prātimokṣasūtroddeśa* [ ] (51.2)*r yāni*. . .
Ser. No. 4 . . .[.] *ātimokṣasūtroddeśa uddiṣṭair yāni*. . .

Although the reading given by Banerjee in his footnote is found in neither Ser. No. 3 nor Ser. No. 4, it is guessed that he would have used Ser. No. 4 becaus Ser. No. 3 has lacuna after °*oddeśa*.

Banerjee[26] . . .*atra tadrūpāt* [*pratyayāt*][4] *pāyantikā* । (4 Tib. rkyen.)

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[23] *Pāyattikā* 5; p. 272 = p. 20 = p. 32.
[24] *Pāyattikā* 9; p. 273 = p. 20 = p. 32.
[25] *Pāyattikā* 10; p. 273 = p. 21 = p. 33.
[26] *Pāyattikā* 14; p. 273 = p. 21 = p. 33.

Ser. No. 3 . . .*attra* (52.1) *tadrūpāt praty*[*i*]*yāt pāyattikā·* ॥
Ser. No. 4 . . .*atra tadrūpāt pāyattikā* ॥

Banerjee[27] . . .*bhikṣuṇīr avavadet tadrūpadharmasamanvāgamāt pāyantikā* ।
Ser. No. 3 . . .*bhikṣuṇīr avavaded anyatra tadrūpā dharmmasamanvāgamāt pāyattikā·* ॥

Ser No. 4 . . .*bhikṣuṇīr avavaded anyatra tadrūpā dharmmasamanvāgamāt pāyattikā·* ॥

Banerjee[28] . . .*yāvat sūryāstagamanakālasamayāt pāyantikā* ।
Ser. No. 3 . . .*yāvat s*[.]*ryasyāstaṃgamanakālasamayād bhikṣuṇīr avavadet pāyattikā·* ॥

Ser. No. 4 . . .*yāvat sūryasyāstaṃgamanakālasamayād bhikṣuṇīr avavade* (139.6) [*t pā*]*yattikā* ॥

In connection to the last three quotations, the relation between the printed edition and two manuscripts is quite incomprehensible. In the first instance, Banerjee puts *pratyayāt* between square brackets in spite of the fact that both manuscripts give clearly the reading *pratyayāt* even though in Ser. No. 3 the vowel sign *i* is deleted by a scribe himself. The second example shows that the printed edition deviates from two manuscripts in omitting *atra.* In the last quotation, Banerjee reads *sūryāsta°* against two Mss *sūryasyāstaṃ°* and omits *bhikṣuṇīr avavadet* which is retained in both manuscripts. As the result of this omission the sentence of this rule has become quite intelligible.

From the above observations it is very likely that Banerjee used not only Ser. No. 3 but also Ser. No. 4. There still remains one more mysterious matter. Fe 30 (= 7b) of Ser. No. 3 ends at the middle of *Saṃghāvaśeṣa* 10 and hence four folios whose original numbers are 8, 9, 10, 11 are missing in FE. From the middle of *Saṃghāvaśeśeṣa* 11, Banerjee's long restoration starts and continues until the beginning of FE 31 (= 12a). Banerjee's use of square bracket indicates that he used a folio which transmits the text from the middle of *Saṃghāvaśeṣa* 10 to the middle of *Saṃghāvaśeṣa* 11. Had it been lost before FE was compiled ?[29]

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[27] *Pāyattikā* 21; p. 274 = p. 22 = p. 34.

[28] *Pāyattikā* 22; p. 274 = p. 22 = p. 34.

[29] Unfortunate fate of the Gilgit—Manuscripts is partly described in K. Jettmar, " Zu den Fundumständen der Gilgit Manuskripte ", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 15 (1981), pp. 307-322. The process of its treatment after Dutt and Banerjee, that is not subject of Jettmar's article, is hoped to be examined in order to regain lost folios.

I suppose that in India even today there are people who know the situation at the time when Banerjee was editing this text. If they will provide us with exact information on it, the above problems can be solved with ease and we will be free from such kind of inquiry. There is no better place for a request of this kind than one of the most widely circulated journals in India.

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A BRIEF NOTE ON THE PREVALENCY OF ANIBADDHA IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By

A. JANAKI*

The prevalence of the form of verse, mostly of independent status, in critical treatises as well as in literary works finds its justification in the fact that it has been the much favoured product of the Indian poet. From the beginning, the individual verse has been attended upon by Indian creative mind. It is affirmed by the hisorians of Sanskrit literature that there is a succession of the body of individual verses which included panegyrics, epigrams, lyrical compositions, riddles etc., before the christian era when there is no difinite knowledge of the growth and development of Kāvya.[1] Though, there developed, various forms of Kāvya gradually over many centuries, like Mahākāvya, Nāṭaka, Ākhyāyikā, Kathā etc., the verse of independent standing never ceased to attract the attention of poets of different times. There are several thousand of *Muktaka*s (*Anibaddha*s) in the classical Sanskrit literature. The vastness of *Muktaka* literature can be evidenced by the large number of anthologies. Many Kāvyas are there, which are made of organised *Muktaka*s around some incident. These are named by the theorists as Khaṇḍakāvyas. Besides, there are several stray verses in *Śataka*s and *Saptaśati*s. Poets like Kālidāsa, Amaru, Bhartṛhari etc., contributed several pearls to the treasury of *Muktaka*s and made it rich and magnanimous.

In this connection, it is not out of place to mention the prevalence of *Muktaka*s even in the connected compositions in Sanskrit. The individual verse has dominated the scene even in Mahākāvyas, Naṭakas etc. There are many verses in Mahākāvyas, Naṭakas which can appeal to *Shardayas* independently. The independent status of the verse in the Prabandha was acknowledged by Abhinavagupta after a second thought though he refuses to accept it at first :

तेन स्वतन्त्रतया परिसमाप्तनिराकांक्षार्थमपि प्रबन्धमध्यवर्ति न मुक्तकमित्युच्यते[2] ।

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[1] Gaurinathasastri, *History of a Concise Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1974, pp. 52-53.

[2] Abhinavagupta, *Locana*, Motilal Banarasidas, Varanasi, 1963, p. 756.

he accepts later :

यदि वा प्रबन्धेऽपि मुक्तकस्यास्तु सद्भावः ।
पूर्वापरनिरपेक्षेणापि येन रसचर्वणा क्रियते तदेव मुक्तकम्[1] ।

The kind of verses i.e., '*Prabandhamuktakas*' which are capable of making the emotional effect independently, were found by Western scholars as a special feature that is peculiar to Sanskrit literature. The reason for the frequency of '*Prabandhamuktakas*' as was pointed out by scholars like Keith is that almost all Sanskrit poets with the exception of one or two have directed all their efforts towards the heightening of the emotional effect only.[2] Apart from the reason, given above, there is also another significant factor which has given rise to a vast number of independent verses in Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit poets are fond of descriptions of the seasons, of the Sunrise, of the Moonlight etc. This indulgence in descriptions resulted in the creation of elegant extracts.[3] That is why many Prabandhas in Sanskrit are full of descriptive verses, having an independen status of their own.

The lyrical and descriptive tendencies maintained by Sanskrit poets are i perfect harmony with the trend of the Indian critical intellect. The critic tradition too, in Sanskrit, has concentrated much upon explanation of the tw aspects given above. Theories of *Rasa* and *Alaṅkāra*, the much attended poeti elements in critical treatises, cover mostly, the two classes of poems i.e., th emotional and the descriptive types respectively. Thus, this main attitude o Indian genius, be it creative or critical, resulted in the multitude of independe verses in Sanskrit literature.

The significance of *Muktaka* lies in the fact that though it was not giv much importance in initial stages of criticism, it came to be regarded as good a full-fledged literary work in point of charm. In the beginning it was considere from the point of view of form. Bhāmaha calls it '*Anibaddha*' and recognis it as variety of composition.[4] He wishes that this variety too, like all oth forms of Kāvya should be endowed with striking expression.[5] Daṇḍin says th the *Muktaka* need not be separately mentioned.[1] In his view, the *Muktakas* either singly or collectively are forms derived from the *Sargabandha*. Vāmana, like Bhāmaha calls it '*Anibaddha*'. He says that *Muktaka* is just like a single spark, therefore, does not give full shinging.[2] He quotes some earlier saying in support of his observation :

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 764.

[2] Cf. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford University Press, Londo 1970, pp. 279-281.

[3] Cf. Warder—*Indian Kāvya Literature*, Motilal Banarasidas, Varanas Delhi, Patna, 3 vols. 1972, 74, 77.

[4] सर्गबन्धऽभिनेयार्थं तथैवाख्यायिकाकथे । अनिबद्धञ्च काव्यादि तत्पुनः पञ्चधोच्यते ॥
Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1928. p.

[5] अनिबद्धं पुनर्गाथाश्लोकमात्रादि तत्पुनः । युक्तं वक्रस्वभावोक्त्या सर्वमेवैतदिष्यते ॥
Ibid., p.

> असंकलितरूपाणां काव्यानां नास्ति चारुता ।
> न प्रत्येकं प्रकाशन्ते तैजसाः परमाणवः[3] ॥

> The poems which are not blended together are not beautiful. Atoms though bright in nature, do not manifest when isolated.

Thus Vāmana dismissed the appeal of *Muktaka* keeping its limitations in view. But he recognises the usefulness of the composition of individual verse in one way. He says that the composition of Anibaddhakāvya on the part of poet is a stepping stone to the creation of Nibaddhakāvya. He explains this point by bringing in an analogy thus :

> अनिबद्धसिद्धौ निबद्धसिद्धिः, स्रगुत्तंसवत् यथा स्रजि
> मालायां सिद्धायामुत्तंसः शेखरः सिद्धयति[4] ।

> The person who practises regularly the preparation of garland will be able to prepare '*Śirobhūṣaṇa*' a special garland, that adorns the head. In the same way, Vāmana continues, that if a poet succeeds in composing Anibaddhakāvya, later on he will automatically be able to compose Mahākāvya.

Rudraṭa considers *Muktaka* along with other compositions like Nāṭaka. In his opinion all the varieties of Kāvya are beautiful.[5] All these earlier treatises approached *Muktaka* from the point of view of form. It is the *Dhvani* theorists that exploited the beauty of *Muktakas* fully. Ānandavardhana 'having travelled in the realms of gold' picked up many *Muktakas* to prove the existence and relative prominence of *Dhvani* and to show the nature of *Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* and also to illustrate several poetic factors like *Rasavat* etc., that he has enunciated for the first time in his *Dhvanyāloka*. He put many *Muktakas* on a high pedastal.

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[1] मुक्तकं कुरुकं कोषः संघात इति तादृशः । सर्गबन्धाङ्गरूपत्वादनुक्तः पद्यविस्तरः ।
Dandin, *Kāvyādarśa*, The chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi. 1972, p. 15.

[2] नानिबद्धं चकास्त्येकतेजः परमाणुडवत् ।
Vāmana, *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1953, p. 13

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Vāmana, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[5] अन्यद्वर्णकमात्रं प्रशस्तिकुरुकादिनाटकाद्यन्यत् ।
काव्यं तद्वहुभाषं विचित्रमन्यत्र चाभिहितम् ॥
Rudraṭa, *Kavyālaṅkāra*, Kāvyamālā –2, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1928, p. 172.

He speaks highly of some of these *Muktakas*.[1] Abhinavagupta bestows several remarks on *Muktaka* and discusses several aspects of it. These remarks describe the manifold nature of vast *Muktaka* literature. Abhinavagupta says that a *Muktaka* requires a more cultured and refined *Sahṛdaya* to be received properly and quickly. He explains that a highly cultured *Sahṛdaya*, by his constant literary habit and acquired skill can easily supply the context and his mind fills up emotional conditions.[2] Another significant remark made by Abhinavagupta is that in some *Muktakas* like in the *Muktaka* of Amaru " *Kathamapi* . ." etc. there is full ascertainment of the emotional conditions like the setting etc.[3] Bhoja elaborates this view in his ' *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* ' pointing to the presence of various junctures in the *Muktaka*.[4] *Agnipurāṇa* pays tribute to the form of *Muktaka* as that the *Muktaka* standing all alone is capable of arresting the attention of *Sahṛdayas* [5]

The *Muktaka*, is regarded by European standards, as the best thing in the classical Sanskrit Poetry. All Western scholars made remarks usually in favour of *Muktaka* as against the long poem. They feel that Mahākāvyas and Nāṭakas lack life and action and their characters are stereo-typed and the descriptions are over elaborate and hence loose force. Many Mahākāvyas in view of Western scholars are overornate, lacking in true feeling and examples of wasted and perverted ingenuity. The same standard regards single verse poems as the best things in the classical Sanskrit literature. The *Muktakas* in their view, are gems of perfect beauty and bear evidence of great wealth of observation and depth of feeling.

There are many appreciative remarks made by these authors, which are directed towards *Muktaka* literature. Macdonell[1] wonders that with a subject so limited in situations and emotions so similar, the poet succeeds in arresting the attention with surprising turns of thought and with subtleness which are ever new. A. L. Basham[2] writes :

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[1] मुक्तकेषु प्रवन्धेष्विव रसबन्धाभिनिवेशिनः कवयो दृश्यन्ते ।
तथाह्यमरुकस्य कवेर्मुक्तकाः शृंगाररसस्यन्दिनः प्रवन्धायमानाः प्रसिद्धा एव ।
Ānandavardhana, *Dhvanyāloka*, Karnatak University Press, Dharwar, 1974, p. 71.

[2] ......तदुपजीवेनन मुक्तकम् । तथा च तत्र सहृदयाः पूर्वापरमुचितमत्र परिकल्प्य ‘ ईदृगत्र वक्ता अस्मिन्नवसरे ’ इत्यादि बहुतरं पीठबन्धरूपं विदधते ।
Abhinavagupta, *Abhinavabhārati* Vol I, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1926, p. 288.

[3] कथमपि कृत... इत्यत्र हि श्लोके स्फुटैव विभावादिसम्प्रतीतिः ।
Abhinavagupta, *Locama*, Motilal Banarasidas, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 761-762.

[4] पञ्चसन्ध्येकमपि वाक्यं प्रबन्धव्यपदेशमासादयति ।
Bhoja, *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Kāvyamālā 95, Bombay, 1925, p. 647.

[5] मुक्तकं श्लोक एकैकश्चमत्कारक्षमः सताम् ।
Agnipurāṇa, Sanskrit Sansthan, U.P., 1968, p. 368.

> The longer Sanskrit poem is usually prolix and shapeless....on the other hand the individual verse is balanced and succint. Many of these are beautiful and make an immediate appeal to the western reader even in translation.
>
> .... single verse poems reminiscent of the Persian *Rubai* or the Japanese *Tanka* are very popular either standing alone or included in dramas and prose works.

All this attention and appreciation enjoyed by *Muktaka* literature from both Eastern and Western scholars bear witness to the skillful creative capacity of the master-hand that has drawn the *Muktaka*.

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[1] cf. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1962, p. 288.

[2] Basham A. L., *The Wonder that was India*, (Reprint) Published by Rupa and Co., in Paperback, 1981, p. 420.

AṢṬAU IN SANSKRIT*

By

RAVI PRAKASH†

Sanskrit, being a spoken language from its very beginning, has attested a great deal of linguistic variations and irregularities on different levels of linguistic analysis. Owing to this process of change and degeneration, some of its forms became obscure enough to be construed. *Aṣṭau* (most usual in the Rv., also in the Av., the Brāhmaṇas and later), the cardinal for eight, may also be enumerated among such obscure forms. Its number and theme have always been a point at issue. Pāṇini and other native grammarians evolve it from *aṣṭan*, a base in nasal. Whereas, on the other hand, some of the modern scholars like Wackernagel[1], Macdonell[2], Braugmann[3] and Benfey Theodar[4] hold it (and other forms from *aṣṭan*) formed from *aṣṭa*, a vowel-base in *a* at the same time, *au* being the termination denoting the dual forms. But, Pāṇini reckons it among plurals.

To settle the controversy and to reach some viable and acceptable conclusion, let us first review all the available forms posing differently right from earlier to the later phase, and also ransack their positions in European cognate languages so as to make our argumentation more valid and wide.

Sanskrit furnishes following forms with varying looks, viz. :

In Nom. Acc. cases	:	*aṣṭa* or *aṣṭau* (almost exclusively supplemented by *aṣṭa* in older literature)
Ins. case	:	*aṣṭabhiḥ* or *aṣṭābhiḥ*
Date. Abl.	:	*aṣṭabhyaḥ* or *aṣṭābhyaḥ*
Gen.	:	*aṣṭānām* (Throughout remains the same)
Loc.	:	*aṣṭasu* or *aṣṭāsu*

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[1] *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. III, p. 357, art. 184.

[2] *Vedic Grammar*, p. 309, art. 406.
Also cp. *Vedic Grammar for students*, p. 100, art. 106B.

[3] *K. Vergleichende Grammatik*, 441, 8 quoted by Macdonell, p. 309, Fn. 9.

[4] *Kurze Sanskrit Grammatik*, p. 328, art. 506.

And the cardinals for eight occuring in corresponding passages in Europe sister languages are as under :

Avesta — astan (nom. asta)
Lithuanion — asztúni
Gothic — ahtau
Greek — öktw
Latin — Octo
Old slav. — asmy (theme osmi)[5]

From the above citation, it is obvious that Avesta retains the theme aṣṭ terminating in nasal, which answers to that of Sanskrit *aṣṭan*. Moreover, *Kāśikā* *Saraswati-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*[7], *Jainendra vyākaraṇa*[8] furnish a very striking examp *Priyāṣṭan*, declension of which is identical with that of masc. stem in *an*.

In this way the Avestan synchronism and the model of *Priyāṣṭan* veri the existence of nasal ending stem *aṣṭan*. And also the forms *aṣṭa*[9], *aṣṭabhiḥ* *aṣṭabhyaḥ*[11] and *aṣṭasu*[12] which have their alternatives as *aṣṭābhiḥ*, *aṣṭābhyaḥ*, in earlier as well as in later language, substantiate the entity of the base *aṣṭan*, these forms are analoguous to the forms from *Pañcan*, *saptan*, *Navan*, *ekāda* etc. which are inflected after the fashion of neut. stems in an; compare fr *Nāman : Nāmabhyaḥ, Nāmabhiḥ, Nāmasu* etc.

It is to be noted here that some modern scholars[13] try to discover a vo base in *a* in the forms *aṣṭa* (nom. acc.) *aṣṭamam* and *aṣṭa-stanā*. But t aforesaid proves the assumption flimsy, as all of these forms may better derived from the stem *aṣṭan*.

On the other hand Vishvabandhu[14] following Lanman[15] takes *aṣṭa* as t contracted form of *aṣṭau*. But, this hypothesis can stand no longer. *Aṣṭa*, others such as *Pañca*, *ṣaṭ*, *sapta* and so on has its independent origin from a nasal ending theme[16].

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[5] Cf. Bopp. F., *Comparative Grammar*, vol. I, p. 432, art. 316.

[6] On Pan. 7.1.21.

[7] *Hṛdayahāriṇī Vṛtti* on-6.4.53.

[8] Abhayānanda's *Mahāvṛtti* on 5.1.18.

[9] RV. 8.2.41; 10.27.15; MS. 3.2.3; 3.2; 4.5; AV. 5.12.8; 8.9.21; 11.10.29; PS. 8.5.8; 16.19.9; 20.2; 8.7.10; Sāṅ. Br. 9.2; ŚBṚ. 12.2.2 Ṣaḍ Br. 4.4; GO. Br. 1.4.24 and Tait. Ār. 1.7.6.

[10] Kāṭh. S. 19.4; Var. Śr. Sū. 2.1.1.23; Śvetā up. 6.3.

[11] Not available in the Vedic literature.

[12] Once in the Var. Śr. Sū. 1.4.1.23.

[13] Ram Gopal, *Vaidikā Vyākaraṇa*, Vol. I, p. 328, art. 153.

[14] " *Mūlata et at rūpam aṣṭau ityasyaiva kāyasaṅkochah syād* *vimṛśyam* ", V.W.C. vol. 3, p, 501.

[15] *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. 10, p. 342.

In this way as an aftermath of the precedence, the antiquity and status quo of the stem *aṣṭan* cannot be further challenged and this is the very antithesis to what whitney[17] calls an uncalled for additum of nasal final to the stem.

The forms *aṣṭābhiḥ*, *aṣṭābhyaḥ*, *aṣṭānām*[18] and *aṣṭāsu* (sparingly used in both the stages : Vedic and classical) reflect the prevalence of the stem in *ā*, i.e. *aṣṭā*[19] and not that of proposed *a* stem[20]. *Pāṇini*, too, appears to approve the existence of *ā* stem by substituting *ā* for the final of *aṣṭān* before a case ending[21]. The forms *aṣṭādaśa aṣṭāviṁśati* etc. also recommend the prevalence of the stem *aṣṭā*[22].

Now, the form *aṣṭau* which is in main subjected to this article remains to be construed. This form, without any hesitation, can also be based on the stem *aṣṭā* rather than that of hypothetical *aṣṭa* which is lacking in all the available forms discussed above. In this way, we find the most irregular forms assuming the more regular aspect and all the available forms whether in the Veda or later can be based on these two stems *aṣṭan* and *aṣṭā*.

At last, we have only one cruxcriticorum (i.e. the determination of number marker of *aṣṭau*) awaiting its answer. In fact, Sanskrit *aṣṭau* and the analogous Greek " ōkTW " and ' Lithuanian ' ahtau ', appear, as it were, in dual dress about which several oriental and occidental scholars[23] have troubled their hea Native grammarian Pāṇini and his inheritors trace the rise of the ending (nom. acc.) of *aṣṭau* in the plural ending *as* (or say *ās* in case of *ā* stem) *aṣṭā*[24]. Pāṇini's keen observation[25] connot easily be overlooked. Here, I woul like to keep in view Bopp's[26] upshot which deduces *he* after a long and minut analysis about the evolution of the dual formations of Avesta.

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[16] According to pāṇini—*Ṣaḍhhyo luk* (1.1.24)—these are the forms with elided plural terminations of nom. and acc. cases.

[17] *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 183, art. 484.

[18] According to whitney (*Skt. Gr.*, p. 183), *aṣṭānām* follows the analogy of inflection of the base terminating in a vowel *a*. But to make the declension more regular it is better to derive it from the stem in *a*.

[19] Benfey also accepts these froms based on the prolonged final of *aṣṭa* i.e. *asta* : thus says he—" Nur *aṣṭan* hat ein neben theme (wohl des ursprungliche) *aṣṭa*, welcher in nom. akk. also Dual flectirt wird und im. *instr. Dat. Abl. loc. der Auslaut Dehnt* ". *K. Skt. Gr.* p. 328, art. 506.

[20] Though the modern scholars are not ready to accept the final *n* to any stem from 5 to 19. But, the example (recently discovered by me) of *Daśaṁdāśin* (occurring twice in the S.Br. 4.4.4.12; 11.4.3.8; for the usual *Daśadaśin*, which occurs 9 times in the Brāhmaṇas, is enough to put a query on their adherence to the stem in *a*.

[21] *Aṣṭan ā Vibhaktau*-7.2.84.

[22] It is a noticeable fact that *ā* stem in Skt. (like that of a) has its independent origin and entity and it cannot, at its best, be evolved from the prolonged stem in *a*.

Bopp observes the tendency of evaporation of Sanskrit *s* into *o* in Avesta Thus, Sanskrit *Mās* transfigures in corresponding passage in Avesta into ' Māo in which ' a ' represents Sanskrit ' *s* '[27]. Hence, maintains he that the Avesta dual termination āo, whose analogous in Sanskrit is *au*, has arose from *ās* b representation of Sanskrit sibilant into vowel *o* in Avesta. And so according t him Sanskrit *au* is nothing other than corruption of *ās* by vocalization of *a* int *u*[28]. I cannot say how long will this observation (Bopp's) be true or vali But I find it quite helpful to understand the process of transmutation of plur ending *ās* after the stem *aṣṭā* into dual like termination *au*, which is minute observed by Pāṇini-7.1.21.

Eventually, relying on the foregoing, it can be ascertained that *aṣṭā* a *aṣṭan* are only the themes prevailing both in Vedic and classical Sanskrit a *aṣṭau* is the plural form from the stem *aṣṭā* (as observes Pāṇini), owing to t evaporation of *ās* into *au*.

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[23] Cf. P. I and Ref. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[24] Pāṇ. *Aṣṭābhya Auś*-7.1.21 : Also cf. Chandr. Vyāc-5.4.5.3; Sa Kaṁṭhā-3.1.175; and Jain Vyā.-5.1.18.

[25] (1) *Mahatī Sūksamekṣikā Vartate Sūtrakārasya Kāśika*-4.2.74 : (*Tatrāśakyam Varṇenāpyan-arthken bhavitum kim Punariyatā Sutreṇa* (*Mahābhā*

[26] *Comp. Gra.* Vol. I, art. 56b; art. 198; art. 216.

[27] See for detail Bopp, Vol. I, p. 50.

[28] Pāṇini also pinpoints this tendency of vocalization of *S* in *U* by succint aphorisms.

Haśi cha-6.1.110;

Ato roraplutādaplute-6.1.109.

A NOTE ON AŚOKA'S RELATION WITH BINDUSARA

By

Aparna Chattopadhyay*

In *Divyāvadānam* we find that Aśoka was in disfavour of his royal father, because Aśoka was, either ugly or somehow displeasing to his father.[1] We are told that Aśoka was '*duḥsparśagātra*' and so displeasing to his father, king Bindusāra. This observation requires scrutiny. What can be the true meaning of the term '*duḥsparśagātra*', which might have caused disliking on the part of Bindusāra for Aśoka, can be correctly guessed in the context of certain facts relating to the life of Aśoka, when he was a prince. These facts also may lead to the conclusion that the *Divyāvadāna* version of Bindusāra's disliking for Aśoka is not fully acceptable or the apparent disliking was neither deep-rooted nor did it affect Aśoka's career in any substantial manner.

According to Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism* Aśoka acquired proficiency in sixty arts, eight fold divination, and the arts of reading and writing palms.[2] Since Tārānatha was not a contemporary author, we have to accept his version after proper scrutiny. The curriculum of studies for a prince in Maurya times was different as it is noticed in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[3] But we can say with certainty that Aśoka got full scope for education. His education was not ignored. His later career as a prince and as a ruler, shows it. Both in the *Divyāvadāna* and in Tārānatha we find that he was deputed by his father on a political mission to the northern part of the empire. According to *Divyāvadāna* he was sent to

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[1] अशोको दुःस्पर्शगात्रः । राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्यानभिप्रेतः ।
Vaidya Dr. P. L. (ed.), *Divyāvadāna*, Budhist Sanskrit Texts No. 20, The Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, DARBHANGA, 1959, ch. 26, 10-20.

[2] Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, Eng. Trans., by Lama Champa and Alaka Chattopadhyay, Published by the Registrar, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Nivas, Simla-5, First edition, May, 1970, p. 51.

[3] *Artha*, Part I, ch. 5, 7-8. Kangla R. P. (ed.,) the Kautilīya Arthaśāstra, Edited by Shri T. V. Chidambaran, Registrar University of Bombay, Fort, Bombay-I (December 1960)

Takṣaśilā to quell a revolt.[4] According to Tārānātha the peoples of the hilly countries like Nepal and Khasya revolted. Aśoka was sent with an army to subdue them. According to *Divyāvadāna* too, Bindusāra gave Aṣoka an army as well as weapons when the latter started for Takṣaśilā.[5] This fact shows the king's confidence in the prince and also Aśoka's ability in handling situations which required efficiency in state craft. Secondly if Aśoka was just a parasite in the palace of Pāṭaliputra, ignored and despised, how could he be sent to Takṣaśilā to quell a revolt by his father ? The strategic importance of Takṣaśilā was great. Unless Aśoka was capable of performing that task, Bindusāra would not have sent him there. If Tārānātha is to be believed, there was trouble in Nepal and Khasya country. We are told that 'the Khasas were a Himālayan people including the ancestors of the modern Khakkas of Kaśmira (Sircar[6] CGEIL 83).[7]' So trouble in the Himalayan region was handled successfully by Aśoka. Tārānātha tells us that without difficulty Aśoka subdued the hilly races, imposed levy and annual tax on them, realised ransom from them and offered those to the King.[8] This shows a perfect cordial relation between Aśoka and his father. Aśoka is described here as an able and obdient son, loyal to his father.

In *Divyāvadāna* we find an account which apparently gives the impression that Aśoka was nothing but a parasite and that as a prince he had hardly any status. We find here that king Bindusāra had asked the ascetic Piṅgalavatsājīva to test his sons and to tell him who was the ablest one to shoulder the responsibility of the empire after him.[9] The latter asked the king to come to the garden called the '*Suvarṇamaṇḍapa*' along with his sons and he said that there he would test the princes. The king went to that garden with his sons. The narration shows that Aśoka was not even considered to be worthy for an invitation to come to the test. Aśoka's mother insisted on his going there. While going on foot like a commoner he was advised by his friend Rādhagupta, the son of the prime minister Khallāṭaka to take the elephant called mahallaka (महल्लकः). Riding on Mahallaka Aśoka reached the golden pavilion (सुवर्णमण्डपः). There he sat quietly on the floor. His simple lunch which consisted of cooked rice and curd was sent there by his mother. This kind of description suggests his low humble status among other princes. But we have already noticed that in the same work *Divyāvadāna* he was given the important task of quelling the revolt in Taxila by Bindusāra. And he was entrusted with this task soon after the test at '*Suvarṇa-maṇḍapa*'. So the account relating to the test of the princes by Piṅgalavatsājīva, is to be properly analysed. It is surprising if Aśoka was not even asked by Bindusāra to come to the test. To understand Aśoka's early history we have to understand Bindusāra. The king, it seems, was moody, quite shrewd and unpredictable. He had inherited a vast empire from his father. Now he was enjoying the empire not as a sovereign leading simply a life of luxury and comfort. Bindusāra was ably maintaining *Maurya* rule throughout the newly founded empire. According to Tārānatha he had quelled the revolt of sixteen states soon after his accession. He managed to suppress the troubles of the north by deputing Aśoka. If he had not summoned Aśoka to the test taken at '*Suvarṇa-maṇḍapa*', it shows that his belief in the future-telling was not deep and that it was just a royal carprice which had caused this test to take place. Not much of seriousness was probably attached to it by Bindusāra. Bindusāra, as an enlightened ruler, who took interest in Greek philosophy and liked to taste Greek wine, probably indulged, in his light moods, in the matters like future telling etc. So far as Aśoka is concerned, it is possible that as a person of serious disposition he had little interest in appearing in the test described above. If he was going on foot and sat on the floor at the '*Suvarṇamaṇḍapa*' it reflects his serious temperament and possibly a contempt for his vain half brothers from whom he might have always maintained a distance. As regards his simple lunch consisting of rice and curd, sent by his mother to the golden pavilion as noticed in *Divyāvadāna*, it is difficult to believe that his food habits were so very simple. His First Rock Edict gives us entirely different facts. Because even after he introduced and adpoted the policy of nonviolence, three living beings used to be slaughtered daily for his royal table whereas hundreds and thousands of living beings used to be killed for the royal kitchen before that. So the account of *Divyāvadāna* can be accepted only to that extent which can be explained logically and which stand scrutiny and which is not contradicted by any fact drawn from other more authentic source like epigraphy etc. So far as Aśoka's relation with his father is concerned the account relating to the test taken at the '*Suvarṇa-maṇḍapa*' has simply distorted the correct facts. And those correct facts are that Bindusāra was not contemptuous towards Aśoka. Aśoka's accomplishments and the fact that Bindusāra associated him in administration and entrusted to him important administrative duties, stand in our way to accept the fact that Bindusāra disliked him and kept him at a distance.

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[4] *Div.*, ch. 26, 10.

[5] *Div.*, ch. 26, 10-20.

[6] Sircar, D. C., Cosmography and Geography in early Indian Literature, Calcutta, 1967.

[7] Tārānātha, *His. of Buddhism in India*, p. 51.

[8] Tārānātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, p. 51.

[9] अथ राजा बिन्दुसारः कुमारं परीक्षितुकामः पिङ्गलवत्साजीवं परिव्राजकमामन्त्रयते उपाध्याय, कुमारांस्तावत्परीक्षामः—कः शक्यते ममात्ययाद्राज्यं कारयितुम् ? *Div.*, ch. 26, 13.

Further according to Hsuān Tsāng, Aśoka as a prince had worked as the viceroy of Takṣaśilā. Hsuān Tsāng says that Takṣaśilā formed a part of Aśoka's empire; and that sovereign and after him his son, were viceroys appointed to reside at it before they succeeded to the throne.[10] If Aśoka worked as his father's representative at Takṣaśilā which was a disturbed zone as we have seen both in Tārānātha and in *Divyāvadāna*, it shows Bindusāra's full confidence in Aśoka and it also shows the fact that Bindusāra well appreciated Aśoka's administrative abilities. From *Divyāvardāna* we learn that the rebellious inhabitants of Takṣaśilā had told Aśoka that they had no complain against the ruling imperial family but they were very much oppressed by the Maurya officials of that region, who misused their power. That Maurya officials in distant provinces misued their power is corroborated by Separate Kalinga Rock Edict I. Apart from the fact that the northeastern zone (*Uttarāpatha*) with its headquarter at Takṣaśilā was disturbed, the strategic importance of the region is noteworthy. It was vulnerable to foreign aggression and it was under Iranian domination in recent past and was conquered by Alexander and later conquered by Aśoka's grand-father Candragupta Maurya. The successors of Alexander were firmly on the border. So Aśoka's appointment as a governor of that region, means Bindusāra's particular confidence in that prince. An ignored despised prince as Aśoka has been described in *Divyāvadāna*, could not get this kind of important mission. Because such a prince might seek opportunity to carve out an independent kingdom for himself by winning the confidence of the people of the region.

If ceylonese chroniclers are to be believed, Aśoka was appointed aṭ Avanti by his father to work there as a governor or to enjoy that state for his whole life.[11] So again here we find Aśoka stationed at a region with almost equal strategic importance as Takṣaśilā. If Barua's interpretation is to be believed the independent states situated on the southern boundary of the Maurya empire, were not very friendly to the Maurya empire, and that Aśoka's two Separate Kalinga edicts were caused to be engraved particularly with reference to those unfriendly neighbours.[12] And if historians are correct in their interpretation, the region of Deccan was either conquered by Aśoka's father Bindusāra or was freshly brought under Maurya domination after the attempt of the sixteen rulers of the region to overthrow Maurya yoke. So that region definitely required a very strong ruler who could control that area with a firm hand. It is possible that Aśoka's able service at Takṣaśilā has impressed Bindusāra and so he sent Aśoka to Avantī to stay there permanently and to keep constant vigilance on the unfriendly hostile neighbours and also on the subdued subjects of the Deccan who had made and attempt to throw off the Maurya domination in recent past. Here again we find a proof of Bindusāra's genuine confidence in Aśoka. These facts tend to support the theory obtained from the Ceylonese Sources that Aśoka was nominated for the throne. *Divyāvadāna*, however, gives a different tale. It is possible that Bindusāra was fully conscious of Aśoka's abilities. But the claim of Susīma alias Sumana probably rested on his seniority in age and also probably due to the fact that his mother or other members of the Maurya family were in favour of his succession. *Divyāvadāna* tells us that Aśoka was present in the capital at the time of Bindusāra's death.[13] *Mahāvaṃśa* tells us that he was summoned by the ministry when his father fell ill before he expired.[14] So both the sources confirm that Aśoka was present by his father's death bed. So it is certain that Aśoka had an important position in the court circle and that he was actively engaged in administrative duties. Neither his education was ignored nor his talents were unutilised. The idea obtained from *Divyāvadāna* that Aśoka was ugly and displeasing to his father Bindusāra should not have been used by a historian[15] to misinterpret the hard facts which prove that things were quite different from what the *Divyāvadāna* version seems to suggest.

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[10] Watters, T., *on yuan chwang's Travels in India*, (A.D. 629-645) Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 54, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055, Second Indian Edition 1973. p. 241. Originally Published by Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1904-05.

[11] *Geiger* W. (ed.), *The Mahāvaṃsh*, Pali, Text Society,—London, 1908, Ch. xiii w. 8-11.

[12] Barua B. M., *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Part I, Published by Roy J. N. Sinha, New Age Publishers Private Ltd. 12, Bankim Chatterjee, Calcutta-12, 3rd edition 1968, p. 222.

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[13] Vaidya Dr. P. L. (ed.), *Divyāvadāna*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 20, Chapter 26, The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbanga, 1959.

[14] Barua B. M., *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, Part I, Published by: Roy, J. N. Sinha, New Age Publishers Private Ltd., 12, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12, p. 35.

[15] Smith V. A., *Aśoka*, S. Chand and Co. by arrangements with the Oxford University Press, Bombay, Asaf Ali Road—New Delhi, First Indian Reprint—1957, pp. 175-177.

SEA TRADE AS DEPICTED IN THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA

By

VASANTI JOSHI*

The ancient literature gives numerous references regarding sea-voyages. Ocean was freely used by Indians as the great highway of international commerce. The Sanskrit literature in all its forms such as the Vedas, the Sūtras, the Purāṇas, poetry, epic and dramatic romances etc. is replete with references to the maritime trade of India.[1] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (KSS) of Somadeva is also not an exception to it.

The KSS is the collection of stories on different topics, which cover all the strata of the society and the spheres of life. It is stated in the KSS that Guṇāḍhya wrote *Bṛhatkathā* in the Paiśācī language and the Kāśmirī Brāhmaṇa named Somadeva translated it into Sanskrit. There is a gap of about one thousand years between Guṇāḍhya and Somadeva. So the facts which arise from its study are to be accepted with due caution.

Among the several stories of the KSS, the stories of merchants are prominent. The brisk trade within the country as well as outside is depicted in several stories. The merchants travelled through the Eastern and Western seas and brought in abundant wealth. The stories narrate how the traders faced various difficulties while travelling from one island to another.

Besides traders, kings also went to foreign countries sometimes for getting a beautiful bride or for the expansion of the empire.

There are several references in the KSS pointing to the commercial connection of India with foreign countries by way of sea. But still, one must bear in mind that all these descriptions are incidental. So the geographical details described by the author may not be accurate. Though the KSS does not furnish evidence directly bearing on Indian shipping and ship-building, it abounds in innumerable references to sea-voyages and sea-borne trade. It, therefore, serves as indirect evidence pointing to existence and development of national shipping, supporting an internal and external commerce.

First we will see how the Western sea (*Aparāmbudhi*)[2] was used for trade.

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[1] Mookerji, R. K.; *Indian Shipping* (Calcutta, 1957) p. 48.

[2] Parab, Durgaprasad; *Kathāsaritsāgarah* (Bombay 1889). 12.6.329. (These numbers indicate *lambaka*, *taraṅga*, and *śloka* respectively in the KSS)

The following islands were visited which were situated in the Western Sea.

Muktipuradvīpa :

The King Rūpadhara lived here. He had a beautiful daughter named Rūpalatā. The king of Pratiṣṭhāna wanted to marry her. So he sent a painter to Muktipuradvīpa with his portrait.[3]

From Pratiṣṭhāna the painter came to the town Patrapura which was situated on the sea shore.[4] From Patrapura, after embarking on a ship, he went to Muktipuradvīpa by the sea route (*aṁbudhivartman*) and reached there after five days.

Here Muktipuradvipa and Patrapura are not identified. Pratiṣṭhāna is identified with Paithan of the Godāvarī.[5] According to the author of the Periplus, the city Paethana was situated at a distance of twenty days journey to the south of Barygaza, identified with Broach. From Paithan great quantity of onyx-stones were imported to Broach.[6] So from ancient times, there was a route between Paithan and a port on the Western sea.

Haṁsadvīpa

Another *dvīpa* in the Western sea was Haṁsadvīpa. It is mentioned in the KSS that the king Śrīsena went from Mālava to Haṁsadvīpa.[7]

In another story it is said that the king Mandāradeva went from Alakā to Śaśāṇkapura and then he reached Haṁsadvīpa.[8]

The places Śaśāṇkapura and Haṁsadvīpa are not identified. From Mālava (Ujjayinī) to Broach there was a land-route, and every commodity for local consumption was brought down to Broach. The importance of the city Ujjayinī as a commercial link with the ports on western coasts is noted by the author of the Periplus.[9]

Alakānagarī is described as a city in the Niṣadhadeśa.[10] According to V. V. Mirashi it is situated in the Himalaya.[11]

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[3] *Ibid*; 9.1.117-127.

[4] *Ibid*; 9.1.128.

[5] Dey, N. L; *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1970) p. 159.

[6] Gupta, P. *Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions*; (Delhi, 1973), p. 97.

[7] *KSS;* 12.6.393.

[8] *Ibid.* 12.34.68.

[9] Gupta, *op. cit;* p. 64.

[10] *KSS;* 12.34.41.

[11] Mirashi V. V., " *Meghadūtātīl Rāmagiri Arthāt Rāmtek* ". Vidharbha Saṁśodhan Granthamālā (Nagpur 1958) No. 11, p. 8.

Other ports on the Western coast were Bharukaccha and Saurāṣṭra. Bharukaccha *viṣaya* was situated on the banks of the Narmadā.[12] It is identified with modern Broach.[13] According to the Periplus, Broach was the principal distributing centre of Western India, from which the merchandise brought from abroad was carried to the inland countries.[14]

Another important centre on the Western sea-board mentioned in the KSS is Saurāṣṭra.[15] It comprises modern Kathiawad and other parts of Gujarat.[16]

Over the Western sea, people had commercial contacts with Persia. In the KSS, it is mentioned that the king Vikramāditya conquered the king of Pārasīka.[17] Pārasīka was Persia.[18]

The intercourse with Persia by the Western sea is corroborated by literary and other archaeological evidences.

From the Bāveru Jātaka it is obvious that the merchants of Western India undertook trading voyages to the shores of the Persian Gulf and its rivers in the 5th or perhaps even in the 6th century B.C. The trade was carried on through the Western ports like Śūrpāraka-Sopara, and Bharukaccha-Broach.[19]

Numismatic evidence also points to the growth of an active Indian commerce with the West, chiefly Rome. The Roman coins found in Southern India and in near the Coimbatore district, and at Madura are more numerous than the finds in the north.[20] It is interesting to note that the Andhara coins bear the device of a two masted ship which clearly suggest the maritime commerce of the Andhara period.[21]

The following islands were visited by the traders through the Eastern sea (*Pūrvāmbudhi*).

It is stated in the KSS that a *brāhmaṇa* named Candrasvāmin went in quest of his children to the islands of Nārikela, Kaṭāha, Karpūra, Suvarṇa and Siṁhala. In the Siṁhaladvīpa he came to know that the children had gone to Citrakūṭa so crossing the sea in his ship he came to Citrakūṭa.[22]

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[12] *KSS;* 1.6.76.

[13] Law, B. C.; *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (France, 1954) p. 277

[14] Mookerji, *op. cit;* p. 92.

[15] *KSS;* 8.6.106.

[16] Law, *op. cit*; p. 298.

[17] *KSS;* 18.3.4.

[18] Dey, *op. cit;* p. 149.

[19] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[20] *Ibid:* p. 84.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *KSS;* 9.6. 54-62.

From the above description, it seems that the islands Nārikela, Karpūra, Suvarṇa, Siṁhala and Kaṭāha were not far distant from each other.

About these islands C.O. Blagden pointed out, "We are not bound to assume that the writer of the passage had a perfect knowledge of the precise relative geographical positions of these islands—he may have known more or less vaguely that these places were all in the Indonesion region.[23]

Nārikeladvīpa

It is stated in the KSS that it was situated in the midst of the great sea, and was renowned in the world for its beauty. On this island there were four mountains viz. Maināka, Vṛṣabha, Balāhaka and Cakra.[24] According to St. Ambrose it was governed by four kings or satrapas.[25]

Karpūradvīpa

"It is the camphor island, either Borneo, or the north of Sumatra, where lies the port Barus, from which to this day the Malayas name the true camphor Kapur Barus.[26]

Suvarṇadvīpa

It is stated in the KSS that the merchant Cakra came here from Dhavalapura for trading and within five days he got abundant jewels.[27]

Dhavalapura is five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, containing many caves of the Buddhist period.[28] It is present Dhauli.

In another story it is mentioned that the merchant Samudraśūra went from Harṣapura to Suvarṇadvīpa by a ship.[29]

Harṣapura is identified with Harsauda, a village situated at a distance of a few miles from the town of Carwa in the district of Hoshangabad in the Madhya Pradesh.[30]

The merchant Samudraśūra starting his journey from Harṣapura faced a ship-wreck and came to Kalaśapura.[31] In the Kalaśapura he purchased wares and started his business.[32]

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[23] Penzer, N. M. (ed.) "*The Ocean of Story*" (London, 1925), vol. IV, p. 224, f.n. 1.

[24] *KSS;* 9.4. 15-16.

[25] Penzer *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 185, f.n. 1.

[26] Penzer, *op. cit.*, p. 224, f.n. 1.

[27] *KSS;* 9.6.140.

[28] Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[29] *KSS;* 9.4. 104-108.

[30] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

[31] *KSS;* 9.4. 104-108.

[32] *Ibid,* 9.4.122.

The city Kalaśapura is referred to in Chinese history and may be placed to South-east at Prome at the mouth of the Sittang river.[33]

The merchant named Iśvaravarman set out from Citrakūṭanagara with a caravan to Suvarṇadvīpa. His father gave him five crores of wealth for trade as capital (*Bhāṇḍam*) while going to Savarṇadvīpa he came to Kāñcanpura.[34]

Citrakūṭanagara has been identified with Citrakūṭa near Kālañjara in the Banda district.[35]

Kāñcanapura may be Conjeveram on the river Palar, fortythree miles south west of Madras.[36]

Suvarṇadvīpa is identified with south and Central Sumatra from which there was a large export of gold.[37]

Kaṭāhadvīpa :

The merchant Guhasena started his journey from Tāmraliptī to Kaṭāhadvīpa and there he started his business of jewels.[38]

The Kaṭāhadvīpa is described as the treasure house of all wealth.[39] The Nārikeladvīpa and the Suvarṇadvīpa seem to be the neighbouring islands of the Kaṭāhadvīpa.

Tawney suggested that Kaṭāha might be identified with cathy, the medieval name of China. His surmise however, has been proved incorrect.[40]

It is identified with Burma with the help of inscriptions found in Kanyākumārī by K.V.S. Aiyar.[41]

Kaṭāhadvīpa represents Kedah on the west coast of the Malaya Peninsula.[42]

Sir A. P. Phayrés statement that coins and medals with Hindu symbols were found in Pegu confirms the intercourse between India and Burma.[43]

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[33] Majumdar, R. C. *Hindu Colonies in the Far East* (Calcutta, 1963) p. 225-26.

[34] *KSS;* 10.1. 72-73.

[35] Law, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[36] Dey, *op, cit.*, P. 88.

[37] Penzer, *op. cit*; p. 224, f.n.l.

[38] *KSS.*, 2.5.73-83.

[39] *Ibid.*, 18.4.105.

[40] Penzer, *op. cit*; vol. I; p. 155, f.n.l.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Mishra, S. M. " India's Foreign Trade as known from the Samarāiccakahā and the Kuvalayamālā, " in *JORI*, XXIV, p. 193.

[43] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

Siṁhaladvīpa :

It is mentioned in the KSS that the merchant Candrasāra went from Lampā to Siṁhaladvīpa for trade.[44]

Siṁhaladvīpa is identified with Ceylon.[45] It is mentioned in the inscriptions of Samudragupta also.[46]

In one of the stories of the KSS, reference is made to Laṅkā and it is stated that Laṅkā was through the Bay of Bangal.[47] This Laṅkā and Siṁhaladvīpa must be the same.

Siṁhaladvīpa or Ceylon is always mentioned as a source of pearls in Buddhist and Sanskrit literature. Fa-hein when he visited India in A.D. 399-414 resided here and then went to Ceylon. It is mentioned that he sailed from Tāmraliptī for fourteen days and nights and arrived in Ceylon.[48] While Strabo concluded that Ceylon was seven days sail from Eastern continent.[49]

Cosmos Indicopleustes (A.D. 535) described Ceylon under the name Serendip as the place where " were imported the silk of Sinae-Roman China and the precious spices of the Eastern countries, and which were conveyed thence to all parts of India and to other countries. " He then considered Ceylon as the centre of commerce between China and the Gulf of Persia and the Red sea.[50]

Suvarṇabhūmi

It is mentioned in the KSS that the merchant Hiraṇyagupta came from Viyogapura to Sāgarapura situated on the bank of the sea and from Sāgarapura he went to Suvarṇabhūmi for obtaining more money.[51] The places Viyogapura and Sāgarapura are not identified.

Suvarṇaabhūmi is the Golden Khersonese of Ptolemy. It is mentioned in the *Arthaśātra* of Kauṭilya as a gold producing land. According to Smith it is identified with the country extending beyond the eastern and northern coasts of the Bay of Bengal or Ramannadesa i.e. Lower Burma or Peau and Moulmein.[52]

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[44] *KSS*; 11.5.51.

[45] Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[46] Fleet, *CII* vol. III, p. 14.

[47] *KSS*; 2.4.131.

[48] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[49] Puri, Baij Nath, *India in Classical Greek Writings* (Ahmedabad, 1963) p. 183-84 f.n. 1.

[50] Mookerji, *op. ctt.*, p. 98.

[51] *KSS*; 9.2.318-320.

[52] References quoted from *Pre-Buddhist India* by R. N. Mehta (Bombay, 1939) pp. 445-446.

The journey from Champā (Bhagalpur) to Suvarṇabhūmi is described in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*[53] also. This *Jātaka* also shows that the Ganges was navigable right away to the sea from Champā or modern Bhagalpur.

The *Sussondi Jātaka* mentions the voyage of certain merchants of Bharukaccha for the Golden Land,[54] which shows that from Western coast also it was navigable.

Utsthaladvīpa

It was an island in the midst of the ocean. It is started that Śaktideva went from Viṭaṅkapura to Utsthaladvīpa. Viṭaṅkapura is stated to have been an ornament of the sea, situated on the sea-shore[55] It is not identified. Utsthaladvīpa is also not identified.

Śvetadvīpa

It is stated that the king Naravāhanadatta went to Śvetadvīpa through the air to visit the shrine of Viṣṇu.[56]

There is much uncertainty as to the identification of it. Weber put it in Alexandria, but the theory is unsupported. Richard Garbe suggested Lake Balkash as its true identity.

Another suggestion made by Kennedy is Lake Issky Kul, the first account of which was given by Huan tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim. It lies about three hundred miles south of Lake Balkash, both lakes being in the Russo Turkestan province Semiryechensk.[57]

Ratnakūṭadvīpa

It is mentioned that in the Raṭnakūtadvīpa lord Harī was situated. People from various islands came here on the 12th day of the white fortnight of Āṣāḍha for the worship of god.[58]

The king Ratnādhipati ruled in the Ratnakūṭadvīpa and he went to Kaliṅga for obtaining a white elephant.[59]

Ratnakūṭadvīpa may be Ratnadvīpa which is identified with Ceylon.[60]

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[53] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *KSS;* 5.2.35.39.

[56] *Ibid.* 11.1.96.

[57] Penzer, *op. cit.* vol. iv, p. 185, f.n. 2.

[58] *KSS;* 5.3.3.

[59] *Ibid;* 7.2.9-19.

[60] Mishra, *op. cit.;* p. 194.

Important Ports on the Eastern Sea

There are some references to ports from which the ships sailed to the islands mentioned above.

Tāmralipti

It seems to be the most important commercial city near the mouth of the Ganges, of the shore of the Eastern Sea. From this port, traders had gone to Siṁhaladvīpa,[61] Kaṭāhadvīpa,[62] and Ratnakūṭadvīpa.[63]

Tāmaralipti is Tamluk which was formerly on the mouth of the Ganges, and is how situated on the Western bank of the Rūpanārāyaṇa formed by the united stream of the Silai (Śilāvatī) and Dalkisor (Dvarikeśvarī) in the district of Midnapur in Bengal.[64]

The city Tāmralipti is of very great antiquity and existed prior to the days of Aśoka, for it figures even in the sacred writing of the Hindus. It is referred to in the *Mahavaṁsa* as Tāmalitā, and was probably meant by the author of the Periplus when he spoke of " a great commercial city near the mouth of the Ganges, the trade of which consisted chiefly in cloths of the most delicate texture and extreme beauty.[65] "

A pilgrim from China in the seventh century, speaks of Tamluk as still an important Buddhist harbour. It was " situated on the bay, could be approached both by land and water, and contained stores of rare and precious merchandise and a wealthy population.[66] "

So far as internal trade relations in India are concerned, we find that there was a direct route from Ayodhyā to Tāmralipti.

We find a record of three merchant brothers, who had gone to Tāmralipti from Ayodhyā on business.[67]

Kaliṅga

Another important region on the Eastern board was Kaliṅga. Intercourse between Kaliṅga and Burma is already mentioned. Some of the inscriptions " speak of navigation and ship commerce as forming part of the education of the princes of Kaliṅg.[68] "

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[61] *KSS*; 12.14.32-33.

[62] *Ibid*; 2.5.83.

[63] *Ibid*; 7.2.37.

[64] Dey, *op. cit.*; p. 204.

[65] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[68] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

Kāñcīpura

Kāñcīpura seems to have been an important centre of trade and commerce where merchants used to flock with merchandise.

It may be identified with Conjeveram, on the river Palar, forty-three miles south west of Madras [69]

In the KSS it is mentioned that a certain merchant came here from some other country. He had with him elephants, horses, jewels and garments made in China.[70] All these articles he sold in the market. No doubt it was the greatest emporium for the traders coming from different countries.

Chīna

Besides the islands the traders also visited China. It is mentioned that the lord of China gave his daughter to the king of Śākala, and presented him gold, elephants, horses and China silk (Chīnāṁśuka). After marriage the king Sūryaprabha came to Śākala by an aeroplane (*Vimāna*) through the air. (*Vyomavartmanā*).[71]

The China silk was sold in the Indian Market.[72]

The intercourse of India with China by way of the sea began at least as early as the commencement of the Christian era. Chinese works mention a series of names of Buddhist priests who sailed between southern India and China.[73]

Watt pointed out, " Chinese vessels at this time made the voyage between China and the Persian Gulf, stopping to trade in Ceylon and India, and disposing their cargoes finally to the Bagdad merchants.[74] "

Merchandise

The merchants, while going to other countries had their ships full with merchandise. Such references show the imports and exports of the Indian trade.

It is mentioned that when the merchant Mugdhabuddhi went to Kaṭāhadvīpa, he had in his ship Agaru (aloes wood).[75]

While the merchant Guhasena bought and sold jewels when he was in the Kaṭāhadvīpa.[76]

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[69] Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[70] *KSS;* 7.9.70-72.

[71] *Ibid;* 8.1.177-183.

[72] *Ibid;* 7.9.70-72.

[73] Mookerji, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

[74] Schoff, W. H. (ed), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (London, 1912), p. 152.

[75] *KSS*; 10.5.3.

[76] *Ibid*; 2.5.83.

It seems that people go to Suvarṇabhumi to trade with wares (*Bhaṇḍaka*).[77] About Ceylon it is said that it received wares from all trading marts, and again distributed them over the world.[78]

It is stated in the KSS that from Suvarṇadvīpa a merchant named Cakra brought abundant jewels within five years.[79]

In another story the father of Śaktideva said to him that he had brought a ship full of gold from Utsthaladvīpa.[80]

The merchant Sukhadhana came to Kāñchīnagarī from other country and sold elephants, horses, jewels and garments made in China.[81]

All these references would indicate that the merchants were interested in making more money in foreign countries. They have always brought abundant gold, jewels etc.

Difficulties in travel

Marine travel involved many difficulties. As there was no marine insurance as such the merchants had to bear a great loss in their business.

Before starting a travel the auspicious (*śubha*) day was chosen [82] A desired deity (*abhīṣṭa devatā*)[83] was worshipped, and then only the new expedition was undertaken. But still accidents like ship wreck (*vāhanabhaṅga*, or *potabhaṅga*) took place, due to which the merchants lost every thing, even their lives.

It seems that if the ship started drowning the merchants worshipped the sea with jewels.[84] The drowning men were saved with the help of ropes (*Pāśa rajju*,[85] *avalambana-rajju* [86]) or with wooden logs (*Phalaka*).[87]

When the ship of Skandadāsa was in danger, he declared that he will give his half wealth and a daughter in marriage to a person who will save the ship from danger. So the *brāhmaṇa* named Vidūṣaka saved it with the help of ropes.[88]

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[77] *Ibid*; 9 2 318.

[78] Puri. *op cit*; p. 196.

[79] *KSS*; 9 6 141.

[80] *Ibid*; 5.3.129.

[81] *Ibid*; 7.9.70-72.

[82] *KSS;* 10 1.72.

[83] *Ibid;* 12.14.33

[84] *Ibid;* 9.4.87.

[85] *Ibid;* 3 4.298.

[86] *Ibid;* 3.4 299.

[87] *Ibid;* 5.2 45-46.

[88] *Ibid;* 3.4.294-306.

Sometimes goblins appeared in the ocean. In the above story it is stated that when the ship came in the middle of the ocean waves struck to the thigh of a huge man in the ocean. But the *brāhmaṇa* Vidūṣaka cut off that thigh and made out the way for the ship.[89]

Due to storms in the ocean, it became difficult to reach the desired islands. The merchant Samudraśūra was once compelled by his business requirements to go to Suvarṅadvīpa. As he was travelling over the sea, when his journey was very nearly at an end, wind tossed the ship about with the violence of the waves and it was struck by a sea monster and split as under. Then the merchant plunged into the sea. He found the corpse of a man long dead, and he climbed up on the corpse, and he was carried to the Suvarṇadvīpa by the favourable wind.[90]

Sometimes huge fish (*mahāmatsya*[91] or *Śaphara*[92]) swallowed the whole ship with all the men on it.

In the foreign countries also the traders had to face several difficulties. The merchant named Candrasāra from Lampānagarī went to Siṁhaladvīpa. There he got abundant jewels in his trade transactions. When the king of Siṁhaladvīpa came to know about it he being jealous of him kept him in the prison.[93]

But there were certain kings in our country who had helped the merchants in their miserable condition. The merchant Rudra faced ship-wreck and when he came back he found a great treasure in his garden. He informed the king about it but the king allowed him to keep that wealth with him as he was plundered by the sea.[94]

So far as the sculptural representation of ship-wreck is concerned we find it at Kānherī. There is a representation of a scene of ship wreck on the sea and two persons helplessly praying for rescue to god Padmapāṇi who sends two messengers for the purpose. This is perhaps the oldest (A.D. 177-196) representation of a sea voyage in Indian sculpture.[95]

Such stereotyped descriptions of ship-wreck we find in almost all the ancient literary sources. Even though they have not much historical value, they do tell us about the sea voyages that were undertaken by the traders and the difficulties that they had to face.

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[89] *Ibid;* 3.4.302-306.

[90] *Ibid*; 9.4.99-104.

[91] *Ibid*; 5.2.47.

[92] *Ibid*; 18.4.110.

[93] *Ibid*; 11.1.31-42.

[94] *Ibid*; 9.4.86-94.

[95] Mookerji., *op cit.,* p. 25.

In spite of all these difficulties the traders undertook risky voyages boldly and obtained abundant wealth. They established friendly relations with other countries. The trade relations between India and foreign countries flourished during this period. The testimoney of Yuan Chauang and Bāṇa also proves that international trade was carried on with China, Ceylon and Persia and other counttics.[96]

A scene depicting foreign merchants visiting Indian Court appears in an Amaravati relief as well as in Ajanta paintings.[97] In the time of the KSS we find that the field of Indian maritime activity in the eastern seas extended as far as China and Japan in the farthest East, beyond the small colonies of Java and Sumatra. It is proved by the numerous and magnificient Hindu remains that are still existing in Java and particularly by the representations among the magnificient sculptures of the temple of Borobudur in Java.[98]

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[96] Sharma, B. N., *Harṣa and His Times* (Varanasi, 1970) p. 484.

[97] Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1977) p. 235.

[98] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

GAṆEŚACAMPŪ BY CINTĀMAṆI—A RARE AND UNPUBLISHED WORK

By

SIDDHARTH YESHWANT WAKANKAR*

The Manuscript :

The present manuscript from the Oriental Institute, bears the Accession No. 10844, has only 12 folios and is incomplete. It contains three complete chapters termed as the *Guccha*s and the fourth chapter is incomplete. In all there are 90 verses interspersed with prose—a basic requirement of a *campū*. Generally, there are 9 lines on each side of the folio and nearly 36-38 letters to each line. The size of the folios is 30 × 10.5 cms. The manuscript seems to be carefully written and therefore it is not much difficult to decipher the letters-written sometimes very near, and at times quite apart. At some places, the scribe has overwritten letters. The handwriting also is not so excellent and orthographical lapses do hinder the smooth understanding of the text at many times. Mixed letters add to the difficulty of exactly deciphering the text. Sometimes, the scribe retains the *visarga* and also makes *sandhi* with the next word. Such lapses are silently corrected in the text.

One speciality of this *campū* is : It is divided into *Guccha*s, as against the traditional names such as *Āśvāsa*, *Stabaka*, *Kāṇḍa*, *Ullāsa*, *Taraṅga* etc. For these details, the interested persons are requested to refer to the excellent Hindi book, *Campū-kāvya kā Ālocanātmaka evam Aitihāsika Adhyayana*, by Dr. Chavinath Tripathi, especially, pages 34-35. It is very much surprising that this *Gaṇeśacampū* was not located and hence not mentioned in the above Hindi book. Hence, its edition, though based on a single, that too incomplete manuscript, will definitely add to our knowledge of the *Campū*s. Here is an humble attempt *to bring to light for the first time* a rare *Campū* on Lord Gaṇeśa. Its name is *Gaṇeśacampū* and its author is one Cintāmaṇi, obviously a staunch *Gāṇapatya*.

There is no entry either of *Gaṇeśacampū* or of its author Cintāmaṇi in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, nor does it find a reference in the *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by M. Krishnamachariar. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* has no entry of Cintāmaṇi as the author of this *campū*. But, on page 271 of the fifth volume of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, we get a one-line entry as follows : *Gaṇeśacampū*-Kavīndrācārya-2004. It clearly means that this *campū* existed at the time of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī—a well-known scholar and *sannyāsī*. So in

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order to fix the date of our author Cintāmaṇi, we have to take into consideration the time of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī. The details about Kavīndrācārya given here are culled from the excellent edition of *Kavīndrakalpadruma* of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī, so nicely edited by Prof. R. B. Athavale and published in 1981 by the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay-23.

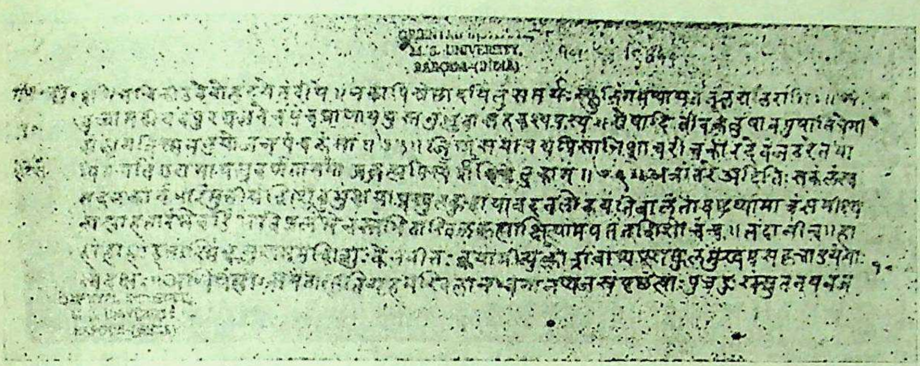
Kavīndrācārya was a Maharashtrian Brahmin as is indicated by the following facts : He had written a commentary on Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, wherein he has given Marathi equivalents to explain certain very obscure words. Moreover, a couple of *Praśastis* addressed to him are in Marathi, composed by Mahadevabhatta Patwardhan. Last, but, not the least, his *Sūcīpatra*-Catalogue of Manuscripts—was written in the *Devanāgarī* script, but, the description of the works was entirely in Marathi. He had a huge collection of manuscripts on almost every subject in Sanskrit. After his death in 1665 A.D. his manuscripts got scattered throughout India because of the absence of any of his relatives—he being a *Sannyāsī*. Fortunately, the List of his Manuscripts was published by the Central Library, Baroda (at present, known as the Oriental Institute, M.S.U, Baroda) in 1921 as *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* No. 217, under the title—*Kavīndrācārya-Sūcīpatram*. He was a contemporary of Emperor Shah Jehan and flourished in the 17th century. So it is proved beyond doubt that the *Gaṇeśacampū* was composed before this time.

The Author :

Cintāmaṇi, the author of this *campū*, is not mentioned in any of the printed Catalogues, neither in the books on the History of Sanskrit literature, as stated earlier. But, it is certain that the present work, viz. the *Gaṇeśacampū* was composed before, known to and possessed by the great Kavīndrācārya. On p. 31 of the *Kavīndrācārya-sūcī*, this work is mentioned under the heading '*Campūprakaraṇa*' and bearing the no. 2004. It can be verified by referring to this list which was edited with an Introduction by R.A.K. Sastry and a Foreword by Dr. Ganganath Jha. So, it is clear that this author flourished before Kavīndrācārya.

Our author must have been a staunch follower of the Gaṇeśa-cult. As is well-known, the Gaṇeśa-cult was and is more popular in Maharashtra. From internal evidence, it is clear that our author was a Maharashtrian hailing possibly from a place near or around modern Pune. I put forth three proofs of his being a Maharashtrian. Firstly, he refers to a peculiarly Maharashtrian custom of applying ashes (*bhasma, vibhūti*), charmed with the recitation of the famous efficacious *Rāmarakṣāstotra*, to ward off the effects of evil spirits on the children. (See second last sentence in the third *Guccha*, after verse no. 80 in the text). Still today, this custom is observed in orthodox Maharashtrian families. Secondly, in the 76th verse in the text, the word *Sparśavibhedakāmam* is used and its Marathi equivalent *Parisa*—touch-stone-is given in the margin at the left hand side of the text (folio, the photo of which is published below). This also proves beyond doubt that the author was a Maharashtrian.

Thirdly, the calligraphic peculiarities support the argument that, the author was from Maharashtra. To prove this point, we reproduce the copy of folio no. 10 b; the calligraphic peculiarities of certain letters, described below, throw abundant light on the habitat of the author.



It is well-known that two distinct letter-types became popular in the Indian Continent, which were later on fossilized in the printing types. They were issued from Calcutta and Bombay type-foundries and thus came to be termed as (1) Kalakatiya *Devanāgarī* types and (2) Bombaiya *Devanāgarī* types. They are as under :

1 कलकतीया — अ क्ष ण ल श

2 बम्बईया — अ क्ष ण ल श.

This division is as old as one thousand years. For other details, the interested scholars are requested to read the paper, "Divergent Calligraphic forms of Devanāgarī Script", by Padmashree Dr. V. S. Wakankar, *CALTIS ANNUAL* 1985, Pune, pp. 23, 24.

It can be observed that many letters on this folio are of the Bombaiya type, which confirms that the author of this work belonged to Maharashtra. The concerned letters are :

ण — Lines 1, 2.

अ — Line 4.

श — ,, 1, 2, 4, 6.

ल — ,, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

But, alternate letters, in exceptional cases, are of Northern style also; e.g.

श — Lines — 5, 6, 7.

On this background, I presume that our author Cintāmaṇi must be the son of Morayā Gosāvī Mahārāja, the foremost propagator of Gaṇeśa-cult in Maharashtra. This is further strengthened by the word '*Svānandapuranivāsī*' (prose-portion after verse 44), by which name the modern Morgaon was known. Its original nāme is '*Bhūsvānandabhuvana*'. Here Cintāmaṇi, the author, suggests his identity by mentioning the name of the place of his Deity of Worship. Morayā Gosāvī Mahārāja was a Saint and a Yogi. He was born on *Māgha Śuddha Caturthī*, *Śaka* 1297, corresponding to 1375 A.D. and took *Samādhi* on *Mārgaśīrṣa Vadya Ṣaṣṭhi*, *Śaka* 1483 (i.e. 1561 A.D.), at the age of 186 years. He had only one son named Cintāmaṇi—our author—who was a worthy son of the worthy father, in the field of *Gaṇeśa-bhakti* and *Yoga*. His date of birth is *Māgha Vadya Caturthī*, *Śaka* 1403 (1481 A.D.) and he died on *Pauṣa Vadya Caturthī*, *Śaka* 1547 (1635 A.D.). For other details, the interested scholars may refer to pp. 609-611 of the *Gaṇeśakoṣa*, edited by Amarendra Gadgil, Pune, 1981. This surmise of mine is open to discussion/correction. If thus, this Cintāmaṇi is the author of this *campū*, then he is also a contemporary of Kavīndrācārya, and this work once adorned the shelves of the library of Kavīndrācārya.

After the death of Kavīndrācārya in 1665 A.D., some relatives/acquaintances of Kavīndrācārya or of Cintāmaṇi took some of the mss. including this one, to their native places in Maharashtra, as a family heritage. Surprisingly, this ms. of *Gaṇeśacampū* is a gift to the Oriental Institute from one Mr. Joshirao from Kolhapur City in modern Maharashtra.

The Work :

The author explicitly says in the very second verse of this work that he has composed this *Campū* by culling some interesting stories from the *Bālakāṇḍa* (i.e. *Krīḍākhaṇḍa*) of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*. Since the *Campū* is incomplete, it is very difficult to exactly say the number of stories the author had described. In the present state of our knowledge, suffice it to say that the author has covered the first nine *Sarga*s of the *Krīḍākhaṇḍa* of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*. A short summary of the *Campū* is as follows :

The work starts with the story of Devāntaka and Narāntaka, the twin sons of the Brahmin couple Raudraketu and Śāradā, belonging to the Aṅga country. The first *Guccha* narrates their severe penance for the propitiation of Lord Śiva. The Lord Śiva, pleased with their penance, grants them the boons of deep and unflinching devotion to Him and invincibility from all species, including the God of Death. Then the two sons return to their parents, who were extremely happy over their sons' singular achievements. Here ends the first *Guccha* covering the first two *Adhyāyas* of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*.

The second *Guccha* opens with the description of the twins starting on their expedition to the Heaven, Earth and the Nether-worlds, with a view to establishing their sovereignty over the three worlds.

First, the fierce and awe-arousing Devāntaka ascends Heaven to defeat-conquer—the Gods. He has a fight with Lord Indra and His army of Gods. Indra is humiliated and takes refuge with the ocean (verse 38). Then the two brothers exchange precious jewels, received as gifts from the defeated army.

Then, the afflicted Mother Earth, along with other frightened Gods, describes her pitiable condition before the Creator and beseeches Him to save them from the Daitya, viz. Narāntaka. When the deities were narrating their distress, all of a sudden, some voice from the air assures them by announcing that the son of the Sage Kaśyapa will free you from the clutches of the son of Diti (verse 49). Then recollecting the boon given by Lord Gajānana to Aditi, the wife of Kaśyapa (His mind-born son), the Creator tells Mother Earth to go back, bearing in mind the boon to Aditi and be assured about her release from the torture of the Daitya. Here ends the second *Guccha* covering *adhyāya*s 3 to 6 from the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*.

The third *Guccha* describes the birth of Lord Gajānana, the visit of the sages like Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva etc. to the hermitage of Kaśyapa and Aditi for congratulating them on getting such a lustrous son—the saviour of the three worlds. They suggest to the parents to keep a close watch on the new-born son, lest the Daityas create problems and harm to the child (verse 67). Then the sages worship the son (v. 68) and retire to their places (v. 69).

Then is described the story of the demoness Virajā, who had come to the hermitage of Kaśyapa and Aditi to finish off the child by devouring it. But, the child after being swallowed by her, comes out by tearing her belly off and starts playing on her chest. In the meanwhile, Aditi, not finding her child in the cradle, starts crying and sets out in its search and finally sees her child playing on the body of the demoness Virajā (v. 78). Then, she hugs him, takes him home, bathes him and then applies to his body the ashes, charmed with the recitation of the *Rāmarakṣā-stotra*, and then narrates the entire episode to her beloved husband. Then Kaśyapa also does some pacificatory rites and here ends the third *Guccha*, covering *adhyāya*s 6 and 7 of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*.

The incomplete fourth *Guccha* describes the story of Uddhṛta and Dhundhura, the two demons, who had assumed the form of parrots to kill the child (v. 81-85). It covers the first eight verses of the 8th *adhyāya* of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*.

Then is described in two verses (86-87) the story of Nakra Gandharva. Then is described the episode of Hāhā, Huhū and Tuṁburu, corresponding to the earlier portion of the ninth *adhyāya* of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*. And, unfortunately, here breaks off the ms.- rendering it difficult to know the contents of the remaining work. It is equally difficult to say anything about this work in the absence of any other ms. for collation.

Critical Remarks .

Before we actually turn to the language of this work, it is necessary to say a few words by way of critical remarks. At the outset, the fact is to be stressed that this is not an original work. It is based on a sectarian *Purāṇa*, which is out to extol the Lord Gaṇeśa to the skies. The entire episodes intrinsically remind the reader every now and then of the *Kṛṣṇacarita*. The feats of Lord Gajānana as a child are all reminiscent of the *bālalīlā*s of Kṛṣṇa. In fact, it can be easily said and proved that the author of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa* heavily draws on the life of Kṛṣṇa even for minor episodes and details. Since the life of Kṛṣṇa is more appealing to the masses than the life of Rāma, the author of the *Purāṇa*, who had a sincere desire to popularise the Gaṇeśa-cult, thought it advisable to frame his *Purāṇa* on the model of *Kṛṣṇacarita*. Needless to add, this click of his worked wonders and we see the Gaṇeśa-cult firmly rooted in India, especially in Maharashtra. It must be accepted that the author of the *Purāṇa* as well as this *Campū* deserve compliments for their whole-hearted efforts in this direction. With this background, we have to look at this *Purāṇa* as well as *campū*, and evaluate its/their contribution to the Gaṇeśa-cult. With this short observatory note, I proceed to the treatment of the language of this *campū*.

Language :

The language of this *campū* is throughout lucid, simple and abounding in *Anuprāsa* especially in the prose portions. The verses in different metres exhibit the mastery of the poet on prosody. Since the language has a flow, the text hardly poses any problems. Sometimes, the author uses certain obscure words such as Jñaptipati for Śiva (1st sentence after verse 13), *Kāndiśīka* (1st sentence after verse 21, verse 29 etc.), the root *Garbh* meaning concealing (the sentence before verse 43) etc. The word *Vraja* meaning group, heap, collection etc. seems to be a favourite word of the author, because 4 times he has used this word (verses 7, 9, 11 and 45). The words *Vrāta, Vratati* etc. also are used more than once. The author seems to be believing in the famous *Vaiyākaraṇa* maxim of '*Kalatiḥ kāmadhenuḥ*', as he has used the forms of the root *kal*, especially the form *kalita* many times. See verse 1, passages after verses 4 and 54 etc.).

The figures of speech used by the author are also charming. E.g. *Svabhāvokti-alaṅkāra* in verse 9-description of Lord Śiva; verse 62, the description of the newly-born child; verses 71, 72 describing the demoness Virajā. It must be said to the credit of the author that he has succeeded in graphically describing the fights between the Gods and the Daitya. They are so powerful and convincing that we can visualize the situations as if they are taking place before our eyes. His mastery over the metres creates a good impression/impact on our minds while realizing the battle-scenes. His *Upamās* are novel and charming. (See verses 20, 21, 26, 32, 33, 47, 53, 67, 72, 78 etc.). The description of the hermitage of Kaśyapa (verses 1 and 2 after verse 59) is also convincing and appropriate. In other words, it can easily be said that the author is expert in giving pen-pictures due to his minute observation and a facile pen. His style is *Vaidarbhī*, wherein *Prasāda* and *Mādhurya-guṇas* predominate. At times, his diction is forceful also, especially in describing battles. In short, it can be said that he has a good command on the language. But, it is a matter of regret that such an excellent work is not available in its entiretly, doubtlessly depriving the *rasikas* of the appreciation and charm of the work. Until the entire ms. is retrieved, it is not possible to say any more things about this rare *campū*. I do hope that scholars will exert themselves to procure the remaining portion of this *campū* and inform me about it. I close this introduction with a sincere request to Lord Gaṇeśa to favour us with the gift of this work, in its entirety.

The Text of the *Gaṇeśa-campū* is given below :

चिन्तामणिविरचिता

गणेशाचम्पूः ॥

[अथ प्रथमो गुच्छः ॥]

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

विघ्नान् विनाशयतु मे करिकल्पवक्त्रः
कल्पद्रुमः कलितभक्तिजनस्य यस्य ।
पादाम्बुजस्मृतिरहो दुरितान्धकारे
ब्रध्नीयतीन्दवति च प्रतिभासमुद्रे ॥ १ ॥

विलोक्य गाणेशपुराणबालकाण्डं समुद्धृत्य ततोऽतिरम्याः ।
कथाः कृतः(ता) ताभिरयं गणेशचम्पुः(म्पूः) सतां भूरि मुदं तनोतु ॥ २ ॥

आसीत् सागमसर्ववेदनिपुणः कोऽप्यग्निहोत्री महान्
देवब्राह्मणपूजकोऽङ्गविषये श्रीरौद्रकेतुर्द्विजः ।
यत्पत्नी नवशारदेन्दुवन्दना श्रीशारदाह्रीप्रदा
स्वाचारैर्भुवि शारदेति विदिता सौन्दर्यराशिः सती ॥ ३ ॥

तस्यास्तां तनयावुभौ प्रथमजो देवान्तकः, पश्चिमः
ख्यातस्तत्र नरान्तकः, समबलावाजानुबाहू, निजम् ।
सार्थं कर्तुमिवाभिधानमथ तावुग्रं तपस्तेपतुः
श्रीमन्नारदलब्धशैवमनुना जेतुं त्रिलोकीमिमाम् ॥ ४ ॥

अथ तयोर्विविधवनावलीनिरन्तराले, विमलतरसरसीसमाकुले, नानाभयङ्करपशुकराले, विशाले शैले, त्रिकालं शशाङ्ककलाकलितभालं व्यालमालालङ्कृतोरःस्थलं, हालाहलगलं, सकलसुरपालं, करकलितकपालं, भूतपालं सदासि(शि)वं वन्यकुसुमैर्विधिवदभ्यर्च्य पञ्चाक्षरीविद्यया[1] पादाङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण तपस्यतोरयुतवत्सराः समगच्छन् । तदानीं तत्तपःप्रभावेन तस्मिन् वने सर्वे पशवो जातिवैरमुन्मुच्य स्नेहभावेनैव विरहन्ति(विहरन्ति) स्म । तथाहि—

गाढं निमीलितमुखं तरसा रदाग्रै-
रुद्घाटय दन्तिशिशवो मृगराणमहिष्याः ।
निक्षिप्य तत्र कवलान् स्वकरैः सलीलं
चिक्रीडुरद्रिकुहरेषु मृगेन्द्रपोतैः ॥ ५ ॥

किञ्च—

अन्योन्यशृङ्गनखराभ्रशिखानिखातै-
रन्योन्यपातनसमुत्पतनादिभिश्च ।
चिक्रीडुरद्रिसरिदुच्चतटे महोक्षा
व्याघ्रैः सलीलमतिविस्मृतवैरभावैः ॥ ६ ॥

किञ्च—

तपःप्रभावादनयोरप्यरिष्टदमाननम्
महाशयो रहो चक्रुररिष्टं मूषकव्रजाः ॥ ७ ॥

किञ्च—

क्वाथोऽभवद्भ(ब)हिरपां रविरुल्मुकाभा-
माप ग्रहर्क्षनिकरोऽपि जगाम दौःस्थ्यम् ।
म्लानं विरिञ्चिकमलं, द्रवति स्म शीत-
शैलोऽपि तत्तप उदग्रमहःप्रभावात ॥ ८ ॥

अथ पक्तपसोरुभयोरग्रतः-

पञ्चास्यो दशबाहुरर्धगिरिजो व्याघ्रेभचर्माम्बरो
शूली गाङ्गतरङ्गतुन्दिलशिरा नीहारहारद्युतिः ।

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[1] ‘ॐ नमः शिवाय’ इति मन्त्रेण ।

मुण्डाहिव्रजभूषणो वृषगतिः शुभ्रांशुचूडो विष-
ग्रीवः प्रादुरभूज्जवेन डमरुं रागान्मुहुर्वादयन् ॥ १० ॥ (९)

अथ तौ परमकारुणिकं स्वतपसा सन्तुष्टमानसं मृत्युञ्जयमवलोक्य सप्रश्रयमञ्जलिं निबध्य विविधस्तोत्रैः तोषयाञ्चक्रतुः ।

अथाह शम्भुर्युवयोर्महातपःप्रकर्षतुष्टोऽत्र समागतोऽधुना ।
सहोमयाहं[२] तदलं स्तुतिव्रजैरभीष्टमन्तर्गतमद्य याच्यताम् ॥ ११ ॥ (१०)

इति परमकारुणिकशिरोमणेरन्धकारेर्वाक्यमाकर्ण्य तावुभावप्यज्ञानसंज्ञकान्धकारे निमग्नमानसौ परमहर्षेण तमीशानमित्थमूचतुः । तथाहि—

सुरेभ्यो रक्षोभ्य दनुजगणतः किन्नरकुलात्
मनुष्येभ्यः कीटोरगविहगशस्त्रास्त्रनिकरात् ।
पिशाचेभ्यो नक्तं दिवमखिलवृक्षव्रततितो
जवान्मृत्युं मृत्युञ्जय जय विभो नौ शरणयोः ॥ १२ ॥ (११)

किञ्च—

नमन्निखिलवासवप्रमुखदेवमौलिस्खलत्-
किरीटमणिमञ्जुलद्युतिविभूषिताङ्घ्रिद्वयम् ।
प्रदेहि गिरिजापते करुणया त्रिलोक्याश्चिरं
पतित्वमपि ते पदाम्बुजयुगे च भक्तिं दृढाम् ॥ १३ ॥ (१२)

इति ताभ्यां विज्ञप्तो ज्ञप्तिपतिर्भक्तिवश ईश्वरस्तत्तथास्त्विति वरान् वितीर्य भवद्भ्यामन्तकोऽपि बिभीयादित्यभयङ्करं स्वीयं करं तयोः शिरसोर्निधायान्तर्धानमगमत् । अथ तावपि वरैः सह भगवदाज्ञां शिरोभ्यामुद्वाह्य प्रशान्तचेतसा स्वनिशान्तमुपगम्य पित्रोश्चरणकमलेषु स्ववरवृत्तान्तमुपायनीकृत्य मिलिन्दभावमापतुः । पितरौ तु तावालिङ्ग्य शिरसी चाघ्राय परमहर्षेणैवमवदताम् । तथाहि—

पावितं ननु कुलं सकलं नावर्जितानि समहन्ति यशांसि ।
शीतले नु वपुषी च युवाभ्यां यत्सुरेशगिरिशाद्वर आप्तः ॥ १४ ॥ (१३)

इति मुहुर्मुहुरालिङ्ग्य मात्रा विहिताभ्यङ्गौ ब्राह्मणैः सह पारणां चक्रतुः ॥

॥ इति चिन्तामणिविरचिते गणेशचम्पौ(म्प्वां) प्रथमो गुच्छः ॥

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[२] सह + उमया + अहं

[॥ अथ द्वितीयो गुच्छः ॥]

अथापरेद्युः प्रविधाय मन्त्रं सं(स)द्वासरं वीक्ष्य च वीरवर्यः ।
देवान्तकोऽगात्त्रिदिवं विजेतुं भुवं भुवोऽधश्च नरान्तकोऽपि ॥ १५ ॥ (१४)

तत्र च—

धावन्तं तत्र तत्राखिलसुरवनिता भीषयन्तं द्रुमालीः
पादाग्रैश्चूर्णयन्तं विकृतमुखरवै रोदसी घोषयन्तम् ।
दूरादेनं समीक्ष्याञ्जनगिरिसदृशं भीतभीता अमर्त्याः
कोऽयं कोऽयं कुतोऽयं समुपगत इति व्याकुला आहुरेके ॥ १६ ॥ (१५)
केचिल्लीना दरीषु व्रततिषु कतिचित्केऽपि भी(भि)रुह्य पादा[न्]
गाढं मौलौ निबध्याञ्जलिपुटमभजन्नासुरं दासभावम् ।
केचिद्वैवर्ण्यमापुः कतिचिदपि भयभ्रान्तनेत्रा दिशासु
प्रेक्षामासुः समीपं सुरपतिसदनद्वारमन्ये वितेनुः ॥ १७ ॥ (१६)
इत्थं वीक्ष्यासुरोऽपि स्वजयदृढमतिर्निर्भरं वीरशब्दैः
एते देवा द्रवन्ति द्रवत धरत चेदूर्ध्वबाहुः पुरोऽभूत् ।
यावत्तावच्छिशूनामखिलसुमनसामङ्गनानां चयोऽभूत्
भूयात्कोलाहलोऽसावपि महति ममौ नैव विध्यण्डगोले ॥ १८ ॥ (१७)
उद्यद्विशालबाहुं कालकरालं महीधरविशालम् ।
विबुधा धावन्तममुं द्रष्टुमकुशला निनिन्दुरनिमिषताम् ॥ १९ ॥ (१८)
विलिप्य नीलाञ्जनपङ्कलेपैः स्वमाननं छादितमूर्तिरिन्दुः ।
अद्यापि तद्भीतिपरिक्षयिष्णुः नभोऽध्वना सम्भ्रमति क्षपासु ॥ २० ॥ (१९)
उष्णान् क्वचित् क्वचिदनुष्णतरान् कदापि
रक्तान् सितानपि कदापि मयूखसङ्घान् ।
स्वं तद्भिया स्थगयितुं मुहुरावितन्वन्
ख्यातस्तदादितरणिः ननु चित्रभानुः ॥ २१ ॥ (२०)

अथ शतमन्युः समारूढमन्युः समस्तान् कान्दिशीकान्निर्जरानवलोक्य सक्रोधाश्चर्यम्—

क्व शस्त्राण्यस्त्राणि क्व च वसनयुग्मं क्व मुकुटाः
क्व वा धैर्यं शौर्यं क्व च विगलितात्मस्मृतिरपि ।
यदेतस्य स्वर्गान्तिकगमनमात्रेण विबुधाः
सुमेरोः सम्पूर्ता घनवनगुहागर्तनिवहाः ॥ २२ ॥ (२१)

किञ्च—

एकोऽसावसुराधमो दिविषदो यूयं त्वनन्ता मुधा
जातोऽहं भवतां पराक्रमपरिश्रुत्याद्य वृद्धश्रवाः ।
नो मृत्योरपि भीः सदामृतभुजां किं चाजिमृत्युर्वरं
शूराणामिदमन्यथा विदधतो धिग् धिग् वृथा संद्वतान् ॥ २३ ॥ (२२)

इत्यादिवचोभिः देवान्निवर्त्य स्वयमपि चतुर्दिग्विजयसमासादितजयस्तम्भानिव चतुर्दन्तानुद्वहन्तं, कर्णास्फालसमुद्भूतवातव्रातसमुद्धूलितसिन्दूरपूरसन्ध्यायितदिगन्तं, मदझरीप्रवाहपरिभ्रमदपरिमितभ्रमरगुञ्जारवरञ्जितगण्डोपान्तं, अभ्रमु कान्तं समारुह्य—

पीनोत्तुङ्गपयोधराग्रविलसद्वल्लीहिमर्तुं चलन्
नेत्रालिस्तनयित्नुविद्युदुदयं सौभाग्यतूलानलम् ।
केशानां चिरकालबन्धनभृतां मुक्तिप्रदं दानव-
स्त्रीणां भास्वदुदंशुभासितदिशं दम्भोलिमिन्द्रो दधौ ॥ २४ ॥ (२३)

कृत्वा सिंहरवं महान्तममरानुक्त्वा जवात् किं वृथा-
न्योन्यं पश्यथ रे हतैनमसुरं यातेति देवैः सह ।
सन्नद्धः समराय सैनिकसुरव्रातप्रणीताननति-
स्वीकाराकुलहस्तयुग्ममचिराद्देवान्तकं संययौ ॥ २५ ॥ (२४)

अथ माघवनीं समस्तसेनां ननु मेनातनयापतिप्रसादात् ।
मृगराट् हरिणीसभामिवासौ समुदीक्ष्य स्मयमान आबभाषे ॥ २६ ॥ (२५)

मयि सुराधिपशङ्करशङ्करार्पितनवीनवरज्वलितौजसि ।
भवनिलिम्पगणैरपतन् चिरं कुशलभः शलभः खलु मा पतन् ॥ २७ ॥ (२६)

किञ्च—

एतेषां द्युसदां समाश्रयवशाद्येषि युद्धाय मां
तत्पश्यामित इन्द्र मच्छ्वसितभूमन्दानिलेनाप्यमी ।
सर्वे यान्ति नभोऽन्तरं भ्रमिजुषस्तृण्येव वाताहता
तत्पश्यात्महितं विचारय वरान् मे शम्भुदत्तान् व्रज ॥ २८ ॥ (२७)

एतत्ते भिदुरं तु मे शिववरप्रक्षिप्तसद्वर्मणो
लोमच्छेदविधानकेऽपि भिदुरं स्यात्तत्त्यजाशां मुधा ।
नो चेत् मद्दृढमुष्टिना सह सुरैर्निर्यापितस्य क्षणात्
आतिथ्यं ननु कान्दिशीकशमनागारेऽपि न स्यात्तव ॥ २९ ॥ (२८)

तन्मे वाक्यमिदं त्रिविष्टपपते बुद्ध्वात्मनीनं सखे
देहोतामरावतीं मम मुदे देवा[त]कस्याधुना ।
साम्नैव क्वचिदप्यलक्षित इतो याह्यङ्गनाभिः समं
किं वा मेरुतटीमहोदरगुहा एताः सनाथीकुरु ॥ ३० ॥ (२९)

अथैवंविधगर्वितभाषणेन मन्दराचलेनेव पयोराशिः क्षुभितहृदयो मघवा मुहुः क्रोधानलं वमन् प्रत्यभाषत ।

रे देवान्तक सदाशिववरप्राप्त्यातिदृप्तो वद-
स्येवं भाषणमुत्पथं मम पुरः के केऽत्र न त्वादृशाः ।
योद्धारोऽप्यसुराधमा उपगताः स्वर्गं विजेतुं क्षणात्
दम्भोलिक्षुरकोटिभिन्नशिरसः फेरूदरं भेजिरे ॥ ३१ ॥ (३०)

तस्त्वमपि तेषामेवावस्थां भजेति दृढमुष्टिना वज्रेण तदुरः पूरयामास ।
वज्राहतोऽप्यसुर ईशवरप्रसादादच्छिन्नरोमशिखरः समतिष्ठताजौ ।
किं त्वामकुम्भ इव नीलशिलाभिघाताद्दम्भोलिरेव शतधा बिभिदे मघोनः ॥ ३२ ॥ (३१)

अथोड्डीय वेगादनेनासुरेणाहतो मुष्टिना देवराजो गजेन्द्रात् ।
पपातावनौ पर्वताग्रादिव द्रुः महावातधूतः क्षणभ्रान्तचित्तः ॥ ३२ ॥

अथ कथञ्चित्प्राप्तचेतनः संक्रन्दनश्चकितविलोचनो नन्दन इवातिभयव्याकुलोऽयमसाद्य इत्यवधार्य सनिर्जरगणो दत्तपृष्टो(ष्ठो)ऽभवत् । देवान्तकोऽपि धावमानं मघवानमवलोक्य सत्वराभरो मृगगणानिव कण्ठीरवः कठोररवैर्भीषयन् सगर्वमुवाच—

रे रे शक्र पलायसे किमधुना कृत्वा वृथा वल्गनां
तिष्ठात्राभिमुखं प्रदर्शय मनाक् संयत्क्रिया कौशलम् ।
किञ्च स्वर्गजिगीषयाप्युपगतं मामन्यदैतेयवत्
धृत्वा संयति तीक्ष्णधारपविना फेरूदरं प्रेषय ॥ ३४ ॥ (३३)

अथाप्यनाकर्ण्य प्रद्रुतान् देवानवलोक्य देवान्तकः 'पृष्ठतो हननमसाम्प्रतं महावीराणाम्' इति स्वयमेव पुरो गत्वा सम्मुखमागत्य व्याघ्र इव मृगान् विविधप्रहारैर्व्यापादयामास । तथाहि-

कांश्चित् वक्त्रचपेटया कति वपुर्भ्रम्यापरान् लत्तया
कांश्चित् कूर्परताडनेन कतिचिद्देवान् महामुष्टिना ।
कण्ठालिङ्गनतः परान् मुखरवैरन्यान्परान् दंष्ट्रया
मुक्त्वा स्वर्गमतिद्रुतान् दितिसुतश्चक्रे गतासून् क्षणात् ॥ ३५ ॥ (३४)

अथ गतेषु सुमेरुमहागुहाः सुरगणेष्वभिषिक्त उपागतैः ।
क्षितितलादसुरैरमरावतीं मघववत् प्रशशास सुरान्तकः ॥ ३६ ॥ (३५)

अथ निजावसथं समुपागतं दितिसुतं समुदीक्ष्य जिगीषया ।
द्रुतमवाप दशां त्रिदशाञ्चितां न कलहं कलहंसरथो[3] व्यधात् ॥ ३७ ॥ (३६)

एवमकुण्ठितप्रतापोऽपि वैकुण्ठः शितिकण्ठवरप्रभावेन कुण्ठितमतिर्वैकुण्ठमुन्मुच्य सकण्ठग्रहं रमयालिङ्ग(ङ्गि)तः तद्भयादगाधं निराकृतदैतेयबाधं यादोनिधिं प्रविवेश । तदनु च—

श्रुत्वा स्वपूर्वजनुषः सुरराजधानी-
स्वामित्वमेष मनुजान्तक इ(ई)र्ष्ययेव ।

हत्वा जवात्परमहीशगणानशेषा-
नीशः समं ननु रसातलयोर्बभूव ॥ ३८ ॥ (३७)

ततः कथञ्चिच्छेषेण क्षोणीशकिशोरसंघविशेषेण शेषेण च समुपायनीकृतानि नानाविधानि रत्नानि यत्नेनापि रत्नसानुशिखरेष्वलभ्यानि स्वीयदिग्विजयवृत्तान्तेन सह देवान्तकाय प्राहिणोत् । देवान्तकोऽपि वसुधादुर्लभानि तानि नरान्तकाय प्रैषीत् । एवं परस्परदिग्विजयश्रवणसन्तुष्टमानसौ जगत्कण्टकावपि तौ श्रीकण्ठवरप्रसादादकण्टकं जगतीसाम्या(म्रा)ज्यमभुक्ताम् ।

अथ निर्जरारातिनरान्तकसेनाचरघोरासुरनिकरभारातुरा वसुन्धरा कार्तस्वरधराधरकन्दरोदरविहारपरान् पुरन्दरप्रमुखान् निर्जरानुपगम्य तत्र स्वागमनप्रश्नपरं सकलसुरप्रवरं नीरजनिकुमारं धातारं साञ्जलिपुटमतीवदीनवदनाभाणीत् । तथाहि—

अथ नरान्तकसैन्यसमाकुलावददिला[4] कमलासनमानता ।
इह यदीयभयात्त्वमुपागतस्तदनुजो दनुजोऽद्य दुनोति माम् ॥ ३९ ॥ (३८)

इदानीं च—

नरान्तकभयत्रस्ताः केवलं न मनीषिणः ।
जहुः श्रुतीनामध्वानं किन्तु वेदा अपि प्रभो ॥ ४० ॥ (३९)

किञ्च—

विधुराण्यकृताग्निमन्दिराण्यसुरो यद्यपि सप्ततन्तुभिः ।
मधुराणि कृतानि तान्यहो ननु लूताभिरनन्ततन्तुभिः ॥ ४१ ॥ (४०)

पुनः सनिर्वेदम्—

याऽहं क्षितीश्वरकृतामितवाजिमेधयूपैः प्रफुल्लपुलकातिमुदा सदासम् ।
सा हन्त वेदपरिपन्थिनमद्य दीना हे नाथ दैत्यहतकं नु सहे सदासम् ॥ ४२ ॥ (४१)

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[3] ब्रह्मदेवः ।

[4] समाकुला + अवदत् + इला ।

तत्त्वर्यतां त्वर्यतां दुष्टवधोपकरणेषु ।

अथ एवंविधं दीनं मेदिनीभाषणमाकर्ण्य हिरण्यगर्भः स्वीया दुर्दशां गर्भयन्प्रत्यभाषत। तथाहि—

अभावाद्यज्ञानां त्वमसि ननु दूनैव वसुधे
त्वमी यज्ञानन्योदरभरणबीजा दिविषदः ।
दरीषु ध्वान्तानां चिरतरपुरीषु प्रविकलं
स्वपन्त्यक्षिस्फूर्तिः पिशुनयति येषामसुगणान् ॥ ४३ ॥ (४२)

अथ वसुन्धरा मद्दुःखपरिहारमपहाय स्वीयामेव दुर्दशां प्रत्युत निवेदयतीत्यकिञ्चित्करोऽयमिति ब्रह्माणं भर्त्सयन्ती सोपालम्भं पुनरवोचत् । तथाहि—

भवान्विष्णुः शर्वस्त्रितयमिदमाद्यं दिविषदां
समस्तानां दुःखव्यतिकरहरं चास्त इति मे ।
भ्रमोऽद्य प्रवृत्त्या परिहृत उभाभ्यां वितरणात्
वरस्यापीशेनेदृशाचरितदैत्याय सकलः ॥ ४४ ॥ (४३)

अथ विरिञ्चिः सचुबुकग्रहं—मातर्वसुन्धरे, मुञ्च मुञ्च चिन्ताम् । आस्तेऽस्माकमपि सार्वभौमः **स्वानन्दपुरनिवासी** परात्परो विनायकः । तत्तमेत्र सर्वे वयं प्रार्थयामहे महाविघ्नविध्वंसाय विघ्नराजमिति साञ्जलिबन्धं तुष्टुवुः । तथाहि—

श्रीमन्विघ्नपते जगज्जनिलयत्राणैकबीजप्रभो
पाह्यस्मान् दितिजादिमां च धरणीमेष प्रबद्धोऽञ्जलिः ।
पश्यामो न वयं गतिं त्वदितरामेतन्न वक्तुं क्षमं
नाथे त्वय्यसकृत् सुनावम्[5] परेऽप्यापद्व्रजो दुःसहः ॥ ४५ ॥ (४४)

यतः—

यस्याग्रे दिनकृत्सहस्रमहसो जग्मुः सुराणां गणा
यस्यासीच्छ्रवणद्वयं कलरवैः स्वर्योषितां सङ्कटम् ।
सोऽयं विघ्नपतेऽद्य मेरुविवरे ध्वान्तालिसंवेष्टितः
स्वर्नाथो मशकैः क्वणद्भिरभितः कष्टं परं दूयते ॥ ४६ ॥ (४५)

किञ्च—

पक्ष्मादत्तान्तरायं निखिलसुखवधूरम्यबिब्बोकवीचीः
पायं पायं समन्ताद्युगपदपि शचीनायकोऽस्तौघदक्षणाम् ।

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[5] Difficult to decipher due to over-writing.

साहस्रं चानिमेष्यं ह्यहह तदधुना धूलिजालैस्तथैव
व्याप्ताक्षो वातधूतैरसकृदभिशपन्नेव मन्दाक्षमेति ॥ ४७ ॥ (४६)

किञ्च—

यो वै नारदपर्वतप्रभृतिभिः स्वर्गायकैर्बन्दिभि-
श्चोच्चै[ः] स्तोत्रविचित्रगायनदिनप्रारम्भभावर्णनैः ।
कष्टात् बोधित औ[6]—दुश्वशयनं सोऽद्य प्रभुर्नाकिनां
स्वापं श्वापदसङ्घभैरवरवैर्हा हन्त विस्मारितः ॥ ४८ ॥ (४७)
भक्त्येत्थं नितरां स्तुवत्सु दिविषत्सङ्घेष्वकस्मान्नभो-
वाणी प्राह कृतं कृतं सुरगणाश्चिन्ताप्रकाण्डेन वः ।
विघ्नेशो भविता मुनेस्तनुजनुः साक्षात्स युष्मान् स्वयं
दुर्वाराद्दितिजोद्भवोद्भवमहानिर्मोकतो मोचयेत् ॥ ४९ ॥ (४८)

अथैवंविधनभोवाणीश्रवणसञ्जातहर्षप्रकर्षः सुरर्षितातः सानुस्मरणमवदत् । हे वसुन्धरे, शृणु नभोवाणीं, नूनं सत्यैवेयं, नान्यथा । यतः पूर्वमेव मन्मानसपुत्रस्य कश्यपमुनेः प्रथमभार्यया महासत्याऽदित्या गजाननात्मकपुत्रकामनया स्वकान्तोपदिष्टस्य गजानननाममन्त्रस्य पुरश्चरणे-र्निराहारं शतवत्सरान् गमयन्त्या तत्क्षणात्प्रकटीभवतः प्रसन्नमनसो गजाननात् "नित्यो निरञ्जनो निराकारो वेदानामप्यगम्यस्वरूपोऽप्यहं परमतपसा सन्तुष्टस्तव पुत्रतां यास्यामि" इति स्वेप्सित-वरः प्राप्तः । तद्याहि स्वस्थानं स्वस्थचित्तेनाचिरादेव मोचयिष्यति दुःखसागरात् गजाननः ॥

॥ इति चिन्तामणिविरचिते गणेशचम्पौ(म्प्वां) द्वितीयो गुच्छः ॥

[॥ अथ तृतीयो गुच्छः ॥]

आकर्ण्य वाणीं नभसो गतायां वसुन्धरायां दिवसैः कियद्भिः ।
बभूव पत्नी ननु कश्यपस्य दैवेन दैवेन मुनेः सगर्भा ॥ ५० ॥ (४९)

तदानीं च—

अत्यन्ततुच्छोऽप्यवलग्नदेशः श्रीमद्गणेशाश्रयणाददित्याः ।
महत्तरोऽभूद्धि महत्तराणां क्व क्षीणता हेतुरदर्शिसङ्गः ॥ ५० ॥

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6 Letter not clear.

यस्मिन्ननन्तब्रह्माण्डगोलाः खेलन्ति लीलया ।
सोऽप्यदित्याः प्रभुर्मध्ये मुष्टिग्राह्ये ममावहो ॥ ५१ ॥

आसीत्पुरा विष्णुपदं त्विदानीमप्यस्त्यदित्या अवलग्नदेशः ।
पदं गणेशस्य परात्परस्य तुच्छस्तदा किं तु महानिदानीम् ॥ ५२ ॥

यथा यथान्तर्ववृधे स गर्भो ब्रह्माण्डगर्भोऽनुदिनं शशीव ।
तथा तथा ध्वान्तमिवाप्तसादं बभूव वीर्यं त्रिदशान्तकस्य ॥ ५३ ॥

अथ नवममासपूर्तौ—

हन्तुं दैत्यतमःसमूहमखिलक्षोणीसरः सज्जन-
व्राताम्भोजविबोधनाय, दिविषत्सङ्घान् रथाङ्गाभिधान् ।
मोक्तुं दुःसहकामिनीविरहतो, भोक्तुं त्रिलोकीमिमां
प्रासूतारुणरोचिरर्कमदितिः प्राची गणाधीश्वरम् ॥ ५४ ॥

स च विभ्राजमाननवरत्नमुकुटप्रकटशोभमानोत्तमाङ्गः, अङ्गदादिभूषणभूषितदशबाहुविराजमाननानायुधः, सुधांशुदीप्तवदनः, मदनशतलावण्यपरिपूर्णः, हरिणनाभिपङ्कतिलककलितभालः, गलविन्यस्तचिन्तामणिमालः, कुण्डलमण्डलमण्डितकपोलः, महाबलः, तेजःपुञ्जतिरस्कृततिमिरजालः, अतिबालः, पुरः शि(शु)शुभेतराम् ।

तमुदीक्ष्य सहस्रसूर्यभासं जगदाद्यं परमेश्वरं गणेशम् ।
सहसा हतचक्षुषौ तदास्तां क्षणमदितिर्मुनिवर्यकश्यपश्च ॥ ५५ ॥

अथ गजाननस्तौ स्वतेजसा विभ्रान्तनयनौ वीक्ष्य सस्मितमाह—

“ दन्तांशुभासितदिगन्त उदारवाचा
वाचामगोचर उवाच पतिर्गणानाम् ।
मातस्त्वया तपसि यादृगुपासितोऽहं
प्राप्तोऽद्य ते तनयतां ननु तादृगेव ” ॥ ५६ ॥

तदलं भ्रान्तचेतसा । “देवानां पदप्राप्तये, भूमेः भारहरणाय, भवतोः परिचर्यायै च, तव पूर्वतपसा भूमाववतीर्णं मामनुगृहाण बालत्वेन ” इति ।

अथ तौ दम्पती परमेश्वरं विनायकं तत्प्राप्त्या स्वीयं भागधेयं च मुहुर्मुहुः स्तुवन्तावित्थं प्रार्थयामासतुः । तथाहि—

उपसंहर रूपमीदृशं भगवन् स्वीकुरु शैशवं वपुः ।
अवसरमनवाप्य पण्डितः स्वकमोजः प्रकटीकरोति किम् ॥ ५७ ॥

अथ गजाननोऽपि ‘ तत्तत्कार्येषु तथा तथा रूपं विधास्ये ’ इति स्वीयां दिव्यामाकृतिं पिधाय प्राकृतबालभावमालम्बते स्म । अरुदच्च सद्यःप्रसूतबालकवदिति दीर्घस्वरेण ।

आकर्ण्य तस्य सहसा जगदीश्वरस्य
मायाशिशोर्गणपते रुदितं निलिम्पाः ।
आपुर्मुदं विपदमुज्जहुरन्यथा तु
दैत्या मुदा च ववृधेऽपि वसुन्धरेयम् ॥ ५८ ॥

किञ्च—

रुदितश्रवणात्तस्य मुदिताः फलसम्पदा ।
पादपा उदिताः किं च गर्भा वन्ध्योदरेष्वपि ॥ ५९ ॥

अथ पित्रा कश्यपेन निर्वर्तितजातकर्मादिसंस्कारं संस्थापितमहोत्कटनामानं बालं गजाननं दिदृक्षवो वसिष्ठवामदेवप्रभृतयो मुनयः परमहर्षेण कश्यपभागधेयं स्तुवन्तः तदाश्रमस्थलमलञ्चक्रुः ।

नीवारधान्यान्यभितो विशन्तो जिघ्रन्त एवोद्धृतदण्डमर्मैः ।
क्रीडन्ति यत्रर्षिवराश्रमस्य निरङ्कुशा वास्तुनि रङ्कुशावाः ॥ १ ॥

किञ्च—

केचिद्दर्भानर्भकाः शोधयन्तः केचिद् गोलान् गौमयान्साधयन्तः ।
केचिद्दण्डान् कैशुकान् खण्डय[न्]तो ब्रह्मा म्रेडं तन्वते यत्र रागात् ॥ २ ॥

कश्यपोऽपि तानागतानवलोक्य विष्टरपाद्यार्घ्यादिभिः ससम्भ्रमं सम्पूज्य साञ्जलिपुटो भूत्वा "भो भो तपोधनाः, नूनमचिरादेव मम तपःपादपोऽमृतरूपं फलिष्यति फलम् । यदद्य तस्य कुसुमायितं भवत्पादपद्मदर्शनेन" इत्यवदत् । पुनः सप्रश्रयम् ।—

अन्तर्दृशामात्मनिवेशितानां भवादृशानां विजितस्पृहाणाम् ।
अन्यत्पवित्रीकरणान्न हेतुः सञ्चारणे गेहिगृहाङ्गणेषु ॥ ६० ॥

अथापि समुत्कण्ठयति मां मे चित्तवृत्तिर्भवदागमनप्रश्नाय ।

आ(अ)थाकर्ण्य वाणीं मुनेः कश्यपस्य बभाषे वशिष्ठः समस्तेषु शिष्टः ।
समीक्षैव हेतुः तवार्भत्वभाजो गणेशस्य ते चागमे नः तपस्विन् ॥ ६१ ॥

तत्र तव दर्शनं समपादि भागधेयेन । त्वरन्ते च गजान[न]दर्शनाय नश्चेतांसि, इति दर्शय तनयं गजाननं सफलीकरिष्यामः सापांसि (नः तपांसि) ।

अथादित्या तत्क्षणादेव पुरोनिविष्टं बालं गजाननम् अवलोक्य सर्वे तपस्विनः सस्मेरं सकौतुकं च ।

मन्द्रस्फूर्जदरालबालचिकुरो गण्डोल्लसत्कुण्डलो
लालाक्लिन्नकपोलयुग्ममसकृत् पादाग्रमास्ये क्षिपन् ।

हस्ताभ्यां परितः कृताङ्गुलिरवं सम्मेरमालोकयन्
लोलः कज्जलभाल आकलयति स्वान्तान्ययं बालकः ॥ ६२ ॥

पुनर्निरीक्ष्य सप्रत्यभिज्ञम् ।

विनिवेश्य पदाग्रमानने यदयं भूत्कृतिमातनोति तत् ।
प्रभविष्यदमर्त्यदिग्जयानधुना कम्बुकरेण शंसति ॥ ६३ ॥

साश्चर्यम् ।

दृष्टिपातविनिवृत्तयेऽञ्जनक्षोदलाञ्छितमपीदमाननम् ।
पूर्वतोऽप्यधिकदृष्टिनिपातान् सेवतेऽतिरमणीयतायाहो ॥ ६४ ॥

सर्वेऽपि सभक्त्युत्कर्षम् ।

सद्यो निपीताम्बपयोक्तलालाक्लिन्नाङ्घ्रियुग्मं मुनयः शिरस्सु ।
निधाय पूताः स्म इति त्रिवारमूचुः शिशोर्विघ्नपतेः प्रमोदात् ॥ ६५ ॥

अथ तन्मातरमदितिमप्यतितुष्टुवुः । तथाहि—

यत्प्राप्त्यै गिरिकन्दरेषु बहुभिर्वाताम्बुपर्णाशनैः
नीयन्ते मुनिभिः तपोभिरमितैः शश्वत् सहस्रं समाः ।
सोऽद्य त्वत्सदनेऽवतीर्य भगवान् लम्बोदरो यत्तव
स्तन्याय स्पृहयत्यतोऽम्ब भवतीं धन्यां नु मन्यामहे ॥ ६६ ॥

परन्तु—

स्थले स्थलेऽयं परिरक्षणीयः सुरान्तकप्रेषितदैत्यसङ्घात् ।
नवाङ्कुरः संशिथिलाल्पमूलः प्रचण्डवातादिव कल्पशाखिनः ॥ ६७ ॥

अथ प्रपूज्यर्षिसुतं गणेशं वशिष्ठ आहाञ्जलिबद्धपाणिः ।
सम्पाहि साधून्, जहि दैत्यसङ्घान्, भूमेर्भरं चेश्वर संहरेति ॥ ६८ ॥

अथ सर्वेऽपि—

विधाय कर्माणि महोत्कटानि महोत्कटोऽयं भविता यथार्थः ।
इत्याशिषस्ते प्रवितीर्य तस्मिन् जग्मुर्यथास्थानमृषिप्रवर्याः ॥ ६९ ॥

अथैकदा स्नानविधानदक्षे मुनावदित्यामपि गेहकृत्ये ।
समाकुलायां, विरजेति काचिन्निशाचरी बालबुभुक्षयागात् ॥ ७० ॥

यस्या रदा हलधरस्य महायुधानि
नासा दरीसहचरी, विकरालमास्यम् ।
क्षेपः पदस्य पविपातशतस्य ह्रीदः
कान्तिः कुहूतिमिरसंहतिवन्द्यपादा ॥ ७१ ॥

किञ्च—

यस्याः करालमुखगह्वर उल्ललं(सं)ती
जिह्वारुणद्युतिरसलरदाग्रभीमे ।
भाति स्म दावदहनज्वलदन्तरस्य
वृक्षस्य कोटर इवाग्निशिखा ज्वलन्ती ॥ ७२ ॥

सा च निर्जनवेलायां दोलायां प्रसुप्तं गुप्ततेजसं बालं जृम्भासम्भ्रमविदारितवदनेन रम्भाफलमिव करमी कवलीचकार ।

अथापमूर्च्छामहिनेव दष्टा लुलोठ शूलव्यथितेव भूमौ ।
मां मुञ्च मुञ्चेति मुहुर्लपन्ती पपात यावद्ववृधेऽन्तरर्भः ॥ ७३ ॥

विदार्य तस्या जठरं क्षणेन चिक्रीड देवो हृदये तदीये ।
न क्वापि संछादयितुं समर्थः स्फुलिङ्गमप्यायततूलराशिः ॥ ७४ ॥

मुक्त्वा मदीयवपुरद्य जवेन पञ्चप्राणा ययुस्तनुभुवा सह कश्यपस्य ।
रोषादितीव(व्र)कलुषा वपुषातिवेगादाक्रामति स्म ननु योजनपञ्चकं सा ॥ ७५ ॥

जिघांसया यद्यपि सा निशाचरी चकार देवं जठरे तथापि ।
गतिं परामाप सुवर्णतामयो व्रजत्यपि **स्पर्श**[7] विभेदकामम् ॥ ७६ ॥

अत्रान्तरे, अदितिः सकलं स्वसदनकार्यभारमुत्तीर्य शिशुबुभुक्षया प्रस्नुतकुचा यावदवलोकयति बालं तावच्छय्यामात्रं समीक्ष्य वात्याहता रम्भेव डिम्भविप्रलम्भेन स्तम्भिताखिलकृत्या क्षित्यामपतत् शि(शु)शोच च । तदानीं च—

हा हा हा हा हतास्मि क्व नु स मम शिशुः केन नीतः क्व यामी—
त्युत्क्रोशं बाष्पपूराकुलमुखमसकृत्ताडयन्त्याः स्ववक्षः ।
अन्विष्यन्त्याः समन्तात् प्रतिगृहमखिलानध्वगानप्यजस्रं
पृच्छन्त्याः पुत्रदुःखं स्रुतनयनजलान्नाकरोत्कांत्सजीवान् ॥ ७७ ॥

तदनुचातिदुःखभरभ्रान्तचित्ता तदन्वेषणाय स्वाश्रमाद्बहिः साक्रोशं सा क्रोशमागत्य यावदवलोकयति तावत्तया

नववधूमिव नूतनकामुकः, तिमिरसंहतिमर्क इवारुणः ।
स ददृशे विरजा व्यथयन् शिशुस्तदुरसि प्रहसद्वदनाम्बुजः ॥ ७८ ॥

विगणय्य नितम्बबिम्बभारं स्रुतपीनस्तनभूरिदुग्धधारम् ।
जगृहेऽथ जवेन सा कुमारं सुकुमारं निधिवद्दुचातिमारम् ॥ ७९ ॥

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[7] Marathi equivalent '*Parisa*' (touch-stone) given in margin at left hand-side. (See the photo)

तदनु च विकसितवदनाम्बुजा बाललालनविशारदा शारदाब्जमुखद्युतिरदितिः
विनिवेश्य कटौ महोत्कटं परिमृज्याननमञ्चलेन च ।
अयि मद्विधिना विमोचितः करतोऽस्या मुहुरब्रवीदिति ॥ ८० ॥

अथ तं सचुम्बनं मुहुरालिङ्ग्य स्वाञ्चलाछादितशिरस्कं तिरस्कृतकञ्चुकं निजं कुचं परमानन्देन पिबन्तं साक्षात्सच्चिदानन्दं **गणेश्वरं** सदनमानीय साभ्यङ्गं संस्नाप्य **रामरक्षादिस्तोत्रमन्त्रितभस्मनालङ्कृतभालं** प्रस्वाप्य सर्वं तद्वृत्तान्तं काता(न्ता)य कश्यपाय न्यवेदयत् । ततः कश्यपोऽपि ससम्भ्रमं शिशुमुपगम्य "सत्यमभवत्किल त्रिकालज्ञानानां मुनीनां वचनं जीवितश्च तदाशीभिरेवायम्" इति वदन् मुहुर्मुहुः सचुम्बनमालिङ्ग्य **स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्वकं शान्तिकं कृत्वा रक्षां चक्रे ।**

॥ इति चिन्तामणिविरचिते गणेशचम्पौ(म्प्वां) तृतीयो गुच्छः ॥

[॥ अथ चतुर्थो गुच्छः ॥]

विरजाथ हता हताखिलार्थाऽप्यमुना कश्यपसूनुनेति रोषात् ।
प्रबलौ शुकरूपिणौ पलाशौ खपथेनोद्धृतधुन्धुरावगाताम् ॥ ८१ ॥

तौ च—

भूयो वक्रितकन्धरं तनुरुहान् बद्ध्वा विकीर्य क्षणं
पादाग्रेण चलन्नखं श्रुतिपुटे आमृश्य लोलेक्षणम् ।
पश्यन्तावभितो गणं गणपतिप्राप्त्यै हरिद्रोचिषौ
रम्यौ पावनकश्यपाश्रमतटं कीरावलञ्चक्रतुः ॥ ८२ ॥

अथ ताववगम्य राक्षसौ कुतुकान्मातरमाह विघ्नपः ।
अयि रन्तुमिमौ प्रदेहि मे शुकबालौ परिगृह्य रहसा ॥ ८३ ॥

ग्राह्यौ मयैतौ कथमर्भकीरौ नभश्चरौ भूगतयेऽतिभाषिणी ।
विहाय वेगाज्जननीं तयोर्द्राक् श्येनस्य भावं प्रगटीचकार ॥ ८४ ॥

कृत्वा क्षणं नखरचञ्चुकपक्षघातान्
भूताडितावतिबलाज्जहतुः शरीरम् ।
यत्क्रोशयुग्मविततं निजपातभग्न-
वृक्षंभरप्रचलितावनिराक्षसीयम् ॥ ८५ ॥

अथ तदाश्चर्यमवलोक्य गृहीतेश्वरत्वधीरपि तन्मायामोहितो मुनिस्तद्देहौ छित्त्वा प्रदह्य पुनरपि रक्षां चकार । अवदच्च संरक्ष्यतामयं बालः कालकरालेभ्यो राक्षसेभ्य इति ।

एवं जलाशयविहारपरस्तुरीयवर्षे स्वकर्षणपरं मकरं बलेन ।
चिक्षेप यावदवनीं ननु तावदस्मादुद्भूय दिव्यरुचिरंजितदिग्प्रदेशः ॥ ८६ ॥

मुक्तः स मेऽद्य तव पाणिसरोजयोगाद्देहश्चिरं मकरतां गजवक्त्रयोगात् ।
शापाद्भृगोरिति कृताञ्जलिचित्रपूर्वगन्धर्व आह विनमंश्च जगाम धाम ॥ ८७ ॥

अथैकदा कैलासं सदाशिवपदाभिवादाय प्रस्थिताः हाहाहूहूस्तुम्बरवो ययुः कश्यपाश्रमं श्रमापनोदनाय । तत्र कश्यपप्रार्थनया स्ना[ना]दि निर्वर्त्य यावत्पञ्चायतनपूजार्थं त[द्]ध्यानपरायणा आसन् तावदसौ सर्वान्तर्यामी गजाननस्तत्परीक्षार्थमिव बालैः सह क्रीडां विहाय सहसा समागत्य पञ्चापि मूर्तीरपहृत्याग्निशालामगात् ।

अथ विसृज्य समाधिविधिं पुरः
सुरवरप्रतिमानवलोकनात् ।
परमविस्मयखेदसमाकुलाः
समवदन्मुनिमा[म]रगायकाः ॥ ८८ ॥

केनाश्रमेऽत्र सकलाभयदेऽस्मदीया
मूर्तीर्हृता ननु यदर्चनमन्तरेण ।
नो भोजनादिकमतस्त्वनःश्च(नं च) सग्ध्यै
सम्पादय द्रुतमिमाः प्रतिमा मुनीश ॥ ८९ ॥

अथ मुनिस्तद्वचनमाकर्ण्य कुपितान्तःकरणः शापभीतैः चान्तेवासिभिर्ज्ञापितं महोत्कटं तत्रान्विष्यन् ।

भस्मलिप्तवपुषं सवशालाकोणगुप्तमधिगत्य गणेशम् ।
यावदानयति तानतिरोषात्तावदीश्वररुचिर्ददृशे तैः ॥ ९० ॥[८]

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[८] [एतावानेव ग्रन्थोऽयमुपलभ्यते]

QUALIFICATIONS OF AN ARCHITECT IN SAMARĀṄGAṆA-SŪTRADHĀRA[1]

By

JAYDEV A. JANI *

In *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* of King Bhoja, Chapter 44 deals with the qualifications-qualities of an ideal architect.

The published text of *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (GOS no. 25)[2] seems to be corrupt and at time unintelligible. The editor has put question-marks at several places. Again it seems to contain spurious elements i.e. interpolations by some later redactor. A case of such interpolation is hinted at the end of this paper.

The work done in this field is also very important and requires closer collaboration of Sanskritists and the scholars in the field of architecture and other arts.

In this paper, I shall try to deal with the qualifications of an ideal architect with all my limitations.

An architect who possesses the theoretical and practical knowledge, the discretion and the professional integrity, is an ideal architect[3] in the eye of the King Bhoja.

His main qualities-qualifications are as under : (a) *Śāstra* (verses 3-6 ab); (b) *Karman* (10 ab-12); (c) *Prajñā* (13-15) and (d) *Śīlam* (16-19).

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[1] Paper read at the Seminar on Scientific works of King Bhoja, held at Vikram University, Ujjain, during March 1-6, 1982. I extend my warmest regards to Prof. V. S. Parmar, Prof. and Head, Dept. of Architecture, Faculty of Technology and Engineering, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda and Prof. Panubhai Bhatt, Ahmedabad, for their guidance and valuable suggestions in the prepartion of this paper.

[2] *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* of Mahārājādhirāja Bhoja, the Pramara Ruler of Dhara, GOS no. 25, ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapatisastri, revised and ed. by V. S. Agrawala, Pub. Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda-2, 2nd edn., 1966.

The above-mentioned text is consulted for the preparation of the paper.

[3] शास्त्रं कर्म तथा प्रज्ञा शीलं च क्रिययाऽन्वितम् ।
लक्ष्यलक्षणयुक्तार्थ-शास्त्रनिष्ठो नरो भवेत् ॥ 44.2 ॥

(A) *Śāstram-Śāstrajñānam* means the knowledge of the works on architecture. He should be conversant with following aspects :

1. *Lakṣyalakṣaṇayuktārtha-śāstra*—the two aspects of the Science viz. *lakṣya*-the formulative aspect and *laksaṇa*-the Scientific definitions and postulations laid down in the works.

2. The term *Śāstra* is elucidated by king Bhoja by giving eight constituents of *Vastuśāstra* which are as follows.[4]

1. *Sāmudram* — dimension-lines of the plan.
2. *Gaṇitam* — dimensional calculations.
3. *Jyotiṣam* — astrological calculations.
4. *Chanda* — plan, cp. *talacchandah* ground plan.
5. *Sirājñānam* —nerves or veins of *Vāstupuruṣa* i.e. cardinal points of interrelation of the whole edifice as e.g. *vedha* etc.
6. *Śilpam* — art or artistic skill.
7. *Yantrakarman*[5] — mechanical contrivances and
8. *Vidhi* — process, procedure or ceremonial rituals.

(B) Next qualification of an ideal architect is *Karman*, the practical knowledge of the art of planning, construction etc. He should be conversant with and well experienced in the practical skill in the field of architecture, because the knowledge and the experience are complementary to each other.

The *karmans* are as under[6] :

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[4] सामुद्रं गणितं चैव ज्योतिषं छन्द एव च ।
सिराज्ञानं तथा शिल्पं यन्त्रकर्म विधिस्तथा ॥ 44.3 ॥

[5] Vide :
यदृच्छया प्रवृत्तानि **भूतानि** स्वेन वर्त्मना ।
नियम्याऽस्मिन् नयति यत्तद् यन्त्रमिति कीर्तितम् ॥
स्वरसेन प्रवृत्तानि **भूतानि** स्वमनीषया ।
कृतं यस्माद् यमयति तद्वा यन्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥ 31.3,4 ॥
(The word *bhūtāni* stands for earth, water, air and fire-31.5b)

[6] कर्म वास्तुविधेः स्थानं मानमुन्मानमेव च ॥ 44.10 cd ॥
क्षेत्रजानि च कर्माणि लुमालेखाश्चतुर्दश ।
चतुरो गण्डिकाच्छेदान् वृत्तच्छेदेषु सप्तसु ॥ 11 ॥
सुश्लिष्ट सन्धिसन्धानैरधरोत्तरसंयुतम् ।
बाह्यरेखान्वितं शुद्धं यो जानाति स कर्मवित् ॥ 12 ॥
हेतुः समस्तभूतानामाधारः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।
मानोन्मानविभागादिनिर्णयैकनिबन्धनम् ॥ 9.1 ॥
परिध्युदधिविस्तारदैर्घ्याणां स्युरमी यतः ।
ज्येष्ठमध्याधमा भेदा यं च ज्ञात्वा न मुह्यति ॥ 9.2 ॥

1. *Sthānam* — site, selection of the site.
2. *Mānam* — dimensions (horizontal as well as vertical)[7].
3. *Unmānam* — weight of gravity.
4. *Kṣetrajña-karman* — planning of the site of a building (40 types acc. to King Bhoja)[8].
5. *Lumālekhās*[9] — Fourteen types of sloping or projecting lines of the entablature etc.
6. *Gaṇḍikācchedas* — techniques of laying out *gaṇḍikā*[10]
7. *Vṛtticchedas* — technique of laying out circles.
8. *Sandhisandhāna-karman* — art to make joints in such a manner that the joints may not at all be noticed (XII. 30 cd, 36 cd).

(C) Another qualification is *prajñā*, discretion or discriminative power of creative intelligence.

The theoretical and practical knowledge shines out if an architect has the discretion of making practical use of his theoratical knowledge, because he may get confused at the time of the execution of his work.

An architect devoid of the discriminative power is compared, by King Bhoja, with an elephant without the rut.[11] Such an architect will be useless as a rutless elephant. This discerning power is also called the ready-wittedness at the time of inconsistency between the theoretical and practical knowledge. An architect, thus, possessed with the ready-wittedness will never be baffled at the time of execution of the work.[12]

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[7] Vide (Dr.) Shukla D. N. : *Hindu Science of Architecture, with special reference to Bhoja's Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* Pubd. by Vāstuvāṅmaya-Prakashana-shala, Lucknow, 1st edn. Nov. 1955, p. 78.

[8] The number is 40, acc. to King Bhoja, Chap. 38. But they can be made five viz. :

1. *Vairājya* — Square
2. *Puṣpaka* — rectangular
3. *Kailāsa* — Circular
4. *Maṇika* — ellipsoidal
5. *Triviṣṭapa* — Octagonial

vide :—*Aparājitapṛcchā* by Bhuvanadeva ed. by Mankad, P.A., Pub. by Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, GOS no. 56, 1st edn. 1950, Intro.

[9] Vide : *Sa. Sū.* 30.130-132 ab; 54.29-43.
Apa. Pṛ. 4.51. They are seven and not fourteen.
In many works they are counted nine.

[10] *Gaṇḍikā* means the trunk of a tree, but, here it may mean the trunk of a column.

[11] शास्त्रकर्मसमर्थोऽपि स्थपतिः प्रज्ञया विना ।
फलेयुः कर्मभिरन्याभिः (?) स्यान्निर्मद इव द्विपः ॥ 44.13 ॥

The same *prajñā* is also compared with a boat[13] with which an architect can cross the vast ocean of architecture which is unintelligible, difficult to glimpse and abstruse.

(D) The last qualification of an ideal architect is *Śīla*[14] character i.e. professional integrity. The quality of professional integrity in an architect must be considered *sine-qua-non* among other qualifications to project the interest of his clients.

King Bhoja's stress seems to be on this qualification without which he may prove himself useless. An architect having professional integrity can only be respected as a gentleman, fit for all works and agreeable.[15] An architect should never deviate from his professional integrity at any enticement, because it accomplishes the work and brings about good results.[16]

Out of these four *sāstrajñāna*, *karman*, *prajña* and *śīlam*, if an architect is lacking in even a single qualification, he falls down from the ideal eye of King Bhoja. In this light we can say that king Bhoja has given six categories of such architects.

(1) *Śāstre ajñānī prayoktṛ :* An Architect who constructs the buildings etc. without the theoretical knowledge, is the killer of the king like God of Death and hence should be sentenced to death by the king himself.[17]

(2) *Akṛtaśrama Mithyājñānin :* An architect, who has not taken pains in the study of the principles and theories of the architectural texts, and has wrong notions for his ability due to egoism, is dangerous for the people of the world.[18] Nobody should appoint such an architect who has neither proper theoretical knowledge nor the practical knowledge. In that case, the building constructed may not get completed, it will bring unhappiness,[19] (to the residents).

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[12] प्रत्युत्पन्नमतिर्यः स्याद् वाह(तः)कः स्थपतिस्तथा ।
कर्मकाले न मुह्येत् स प्रज्ञानेनोपबृंहितः ॥ 44.14 ॥

[13] अप्रज्ञेयं दुरालोकं गूढार्थं बहुविस्तरम् ।
प्रज्ञापोतं समारुह्य प्राज्ञो वास्तुनिरं(नीरं) तरेत् ॥ 44.15 ॥

[14] ज्ञानवाँश्च तथा वाग्मी कर्मस्वपि च निष्ठितः ।
एवं युक्तोपि न श्रेयान् यदि शीलविवर्जितः ॥ 4 .16 ॥

[15] शीलवान् पूजितो लोके शीलवान् साधुसंमतः ।
शीलवान् सर्वकर्मार्हः शीलवान् प्रियदर्शनः ॥ 44.18 ॥ (seems to be interpolated)

[16] शीलाधाने परं यत्नमातिष्ठेत् स्थपतिः सदा ।
ततः कर्माणि सिध्यन्ति जयन्ति शुभानि च ॥ 44.19 ॥

[17] यस्तु शास्त्रमविज्ञाय प्रयोक्ता स्थपतिर्भवेत् ॥ 44.6 cd ॥
हन्तव्यः स स्वयं राज्ञा मृत्युवद् राजहिंसकः ॥ 7 ab ॥

(3) *Kevalaśāstrajña :* An architect, who has the knowledge of only the theories of the scriptures and hence a fresh one having no practical knowledge or discretion, may get perplexed at the critical moment.[20] King Bhoja has compared such an architect with a timid, frightened at the battle-field.

(4) *Kevalakarmavit :* An architect, who has the practical knowledge but no knowledge about the theories of that branch will be led like a helpless blind person on the path.[21] Thus he becomes the part and parcel of the chain of the blind leading the blinds.[22]

(5) *Prajñāhīna* : An architect, who, though possessed of theoretical and practical knowledge, is useless without the discretion or discriminative power.

(6) *Duśśīla* : Lastly a full-fledged architect, having other three qualifications viz. *Śāstrajñāna*, *Karman* and *Prajñā*, but not having the integrity[23] spoils not only his career but also the work of his client out of anger, hatred, greed, delusion and love. He is subjected to criticisms by others, because of his being unable to supervise the wickeds.[24]

There are some difficulties which we come across when we read the ancient scientific texts. They are like this—(1) the meaning of the technical terms is difficult to explain as e.g. *Lumālekhā*,[25] *Gaṇḍikā*, *Vṛttaccheda*, *Siddhaśilpa* etc. etc.

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[18] मिथ्याज्ञानादहङ्कारी शास्त्रे चैवाकृतश्रमः ॥ 44.7 cd ॥
अकालमृत्युर्लोकस्य विचरेद् वसुधातले ॥ 8 ab ॥

[19] अशास्त्रज्ञमकर्मज्ञं स्थपतिं यः प्रयोजयेत् ।
न तस्य वास्तु सिध्येत सिद्धमप्यसुखावहम् । 45 8 ॥

[20] यस्तु केवलशास्त्रज्ञः कर्मस्वपरिनिष्ठितः ॥ 44.8cd ॥
स मुह्यति क्रियाकाले दृष्ट्वा भीरुरिवाहवम् ॥ 9ab ॥

[21] केवलं कर्म यो वेत्ति शास्त्रार्थं नाऽधिगच्छति ॥ 44.9cd ॥
सोऽचक्षुरिव नीयेत विवशोऽन्येन वर्त्मसु ॥ 1 ab ॥

[22] Cp. अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथाऽन्धाः । मुण्डकोपनिषत् I-ii.8 ॥

[23] Cp. fn. no. 14.

[24] रोषाद् द्वेषात् तथा लोभान्मोहाद् रागात् तथैव च ।
अन्यचिन्त्यत्वमायाति दुःशीलानवीक्षयात् (वेक्षणात् ॥) 44.17 ॥

[25] Acharya P. K., *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, p. 443, " A sloping and projecting member of the entablature etc. representing a continued pent-roof, it is made below the cupola, and its ends are placed as it were suspended from the archittrave and reaching the stalk of the lotus below " : (See Ram Raz : *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, London. 1934).

(2) Some of the terms are explained twice in different ways in different texts as e.g. *aṣṭāṅgas*[26] the eight auxilliaries (Chap. 44.3) differ from those in chapter 45 and Apa. Pṛ. 55. 15-17, so also *lukālekhās* are fourteen acc. to *Sa-sū.* (Chap. 44) while nine in number acc. to *Apa. pṛ.* (192.4, 5).

(3) The explanations of the same term differ widely in the same text as e.g. the eightfold *Karman* (44.10 cd-12ab) the practical knowledge (explained above) is altogether different from the eightfold[27] *karman* given in the same

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[26] The other sets of *aṣṭāṅgas* are as follows :

Chap. 45 (*Sa. Sū.*) :

1. *Vāstupuruṣakalpanā*—ritual plan with human figure.
2. A. *Puraniveśa*—design of the city.
   - B. *Dvārakarman*—rules for the construction of doors, gateways etc.
   - C. *Rathyāvibhāga*—divisions to streets.
   - D. *Prākāraniveśa*—design of the surrounding wall.
   - E. *Attālakaniveśa*—design of the roof-apartment, a tower, an upper storey.
   - F. *Pratolīniveśa*—design of the memorial gateways (three storeyed *tritalābhiḥ pratolībhiḥ.*)
   - G. *Sthānavibhāga*—division of the site.
3. *Prāsāda*—Palace-building.
4. *Dhvajocchriti*—construction of flag-poll, a memorial column. (Vide *Sa. Sū.* Chap. 17, Dr. D. N. Shukla, p. 72).
5. *Rājaveśman*—royal houses.
6. *Janabhavana*—Public buildings.
7. *Yajnavedī*—alter-constructing, and
8. *Rājaśibiraviniveśa*—designing military camps, while in *Apa. Pṛ.* they are as follows :

1. *Vāstotpatti;*
2. *Yakṣotpatti;*
3. *Bhūparigraha;*
4. *Sūtra;*
5. *Veśmādhikāra;*
6. *Surasadman;*
7. *Liṅgamūrti* and
8. *Pratiṣṭhāvidhi.*

[27] *Sa. Sū.* 44.20-21.

1. *Ālekhyam*—(*Sa. Sū* 34. 31-36) drawing on surface.
2. *Lekhyajātam*—(*Sa. Sū.* 34.39-42 ab) drawing or painting.
3. *Dārukarman*—Wood work.
4. *Caya*—(*Sa. Sū.* Chap. 41) bonding or plastering of the wall (*cayanam*).
5. *Pāṣāṇaśilpa*—Stone-masonary.
6. *Siddhaśilpa*—(?)
7. *Hemaśilpa*—gold applique and
8. *Karman*—practical knowledge.

chap. (44.20, 21) of *Sa.-sū.*

(4) The subject require close-correlation, because the language of the texts is of the mass end not of the class as e.g. Chap. 44 starts with the words *Sthāpatyam ucyate'smābhir-idānīṃ*-1, etc. but there is no hint even to the *sthāpatya*-architecture. On the contrary, the next Chap. 45 starts with *Proktaṁ caturdhā sthāpatyam*-1. When there is no mention about *Sthāpatyam*, how is the fourfold *Sthāpatyam* told ? Similarly verse no. 15, has comparison of *Vāstu* with water (*nīram*), there *nīram* is *niram* (short vowel).

The first difficulty viz. meaning of technical terms can be settled only by the closer collaboration of Sanskritists and the scholars of architecture.

The second difficulty we can solve by marking limitations of the topic i.e. one set of *aṣṭāṅgas* refers to *Sthapati* in general, while another set refers to the State Architect. (*Rājasthapati*).

The next one (third) of different explanations of the same term in the same text can be solved by the principles of editing. The verse or verses if deal with the topics that are out of context or repeated or prolonged senselessly or found in other earlier texts, then that should be spurious ones i.e. interpolations.

The fourth one regarding *Sthāpatya*, we have to understand the word *Sthāpatya* in the sense related to i.e. connected to *sthapati*, *sthapati-saṁbandhi-sthāpatyam*[28] and not *sthapateḥ karma sthāpatyam*. So *sthāpatya* i.e. *Caturdhā sthāpatya* means regarding four types of qualifications of an architect.

There were State Architects (*Rājasthapati*) and architects in general (*sthapati*). The state architect is required to have theoretical and practical knowledge and the knowledge about the eight auxiliaries.[29] The architect was a kind of superintendent supervising over the Surveyor (*Sūtragrāhin*), mason (*Vardhaki-vṛdh*-1A to enlarge, one who enlarges the buildings) and the carpenter (*Takṣaka*).[30] His job is similar to the job of *Brahmā* in the sacrifices. He had to apply astrological and sacrificial norms in the construction.

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[28] Viśvakarma's *Dīpārṇava* by Somapura Prabhashankar O., 1st edn., 1960, Introduction, p. 25 explains fourfold architecture as (1) *Puraniveśādi* (2) *Bhavananirmāṇādī* (3) *Prāsādavāstuśāstra*. (4) Jalāśayādi.

२९ तस्मात् कर्म च शास्त्रं च यो वेत्ति द्वितयं नरः ।
अष्टाङ्गमपि यो वेत्ति स राज्ञः स्थपतिर्भवेत् ॥ 45.9 ॥

[30] Prabhashankar O. Somapura, and (Dr.) D. N. Shukla differ regarding the job of the four :

Somapura, P. O. (Ibid) Shukla, D. N. (p. 69)

(Cond. on. p. 212)

He cannot be compared even with modern contractor or housing organiser, because the ancient architect was four in one viz. designer, surveyor, mason and carpenter.

1.	*Sthapati*—Chief Engineer	Chief Engineer, Overseer, Townplanner
2.	*Sūtragrâhin*—draughtsman, architect.	Engineer, Overseer.
3.	*Vardhaki*—Carpenter and Mason.	Painter, Draughtsman.
4.	*Takṣaka*—Measurer, Stone-worker	Carpenter

But Prof. V. S. Pramar and myself understand it like this :

1. *Sthapati*—Superintendent supervising over three viz.
2. *Sūtragrāhin*—Surveyor
3. *Vardhaki*—Mason or Stone-worker and
4. *Takṣaka*—Carpenter

PROBLEM OF MEANING : WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WITTGENSTEIN

By

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Russell and Wittgenstein, in the course of their studies in philosophy of mathematics came to believe that ' study of grammar is capable of throwing far more light on philosophical problems than is commonly supposed by philosophers.

Wittgenstein believed that meaning of simple words in a language is ' defined, constructed, determined or fixed by the ' grammatical rules ' with which it is used in that language. The false theory of meaning started with the idea that meaning of a word is an object. Wittgenstein equated meaning with use. As he said in the *Tractatus*,.[1] ' In order to recognise the symbol in the sign we must consider the significant use '. The sign determines a logical form only together with its logical syntactic application, and if a sign is not necessary then it is meaningless. Sentences are meaningful combinations of such words. As Russell puts it, ' Given the syntax of language, the meaning of a sentence ' is determined as soon as the meaning of the component word is known.

One aspect of the theory of meaning as given in the *Tractatus*[2] has been vigorously criticized by his later followers i.e. the theory that there is a one-to-one correspondence between facts and pictures of facts i e. for Wittgenstein too, picture theory proved uncompromising, where the question of correspondence came. He realized (later he indicates this in ' *Philosophical Investigation* ')[3] that harmony, fulfilled by logical grammar need not guarantee the fulfilment of ordinary grammar. Thus, he was then inclined to recognise, ' use ', and ' intention ' as the meaning of words.

What do logical positivists mean by ' Meaning ' ?

The current trend is, " the meaning of the sentence is the method of its verification '. It is for us to see, how far such a concept of meaning is acceptable.

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[1] Ludwig Wittgenstein " Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus ", Kegan-Paul, London, 1955, p. 59 (3. 326).

[2] Ibid. pp. 39, 41, 43.

[3] Ludwig Wittenstein " Philosophical Investigations " Basil-Blackwell, Oxford, 1972, pp. 218-219.

We should first of all be clear as to what we mean by the term ' Method of verification '. They say it means to determine its use, or to put it differently, it means to contribute to its grammar. Of course, the question of verification arises only when there is a peculiar combination of words. e.g. the question of verification will not normally arise, when we say, ' The dog barks '. But it will certainly arise when we say ' The dog thinks '. Because, here we are not using the word ' think ' in its ordinary meaning, but in a new context. We step outside the boundaries of common speech, and then the question arises, as to what is meant by such word-series In such cases then, explaining the verification is explaining the meaning, and changing the verification is changing the meaning. ' Obviously then, meaning and verification *are* connected.

With regard to context, it may be remembered here that Carnep thought that the only legitimate way of deciding the meaning of a word was only through its context. Still more, he insisted that contexts should be extended, that is, a word should be used in varied contexts in order to avoid the ' Solipsism ' on the part of the empiricists (For critics of empiricism say that since experience is the key-note of empiricism, the individual experiences should lead to such a position as this).

But in some cases, there is no such theory as conclusive verification, because most of our empirical concepts are not delimited in all possible directions. Not that exact definitions are impossible to give. Since they are possible. Nevertheless we can never exclude altogether, the possibility of some unforseen situation arising in which we might have to modify our definition. Try as we may, no concept is limited in such a way that there is no room for any doubt. We can never define any term exhaustively with absolute precision in such a way that there is no room for further addition; no room for any doubt. This is what is meant ' open-texture ' of a concept.

Waismann Calls this ' essential incompleteness ' of an empirical description e.g. I may describe my right hand by taking different standards, such as its biological position, function, its chemistry etc. Logically speaking, it is always possible to extend the description by adding some property or other. Every description stretches as it were into a horizon of open possibilities, however far we go, we will always carry this horizon with us. This case could be contradicted with others, where complete description could be attained.

Wittgenstein's inquiry into ' Meaning '

Three criteria : (i) Verification
(ii) Structure and
(iii) Use

(i) He did admit that the meaning of the sentence is the method of its verification—the view which was shared by most logical positivists. But he also said something more. He said, 'The world is everything that is the case'.

(ii) (*Tractatus-i*)[4]

This is the '*structural* theory of meaning. What can be the case, depends upon our conceptual system. But exactly what this comes to, and how it is to be reconciled with the objectivity of fact, are problems that are still to be uuderstood. They also bring into consideration the possibility of devising a general theory of meaning. But at present, such problems are of extreme generality. Whether the criterion applies to the examples of daily life or not, we need to discover whether there is a criterion of identity for actions and criterion of identity for symbols e.g. a car starts, as well as stops, at the blowing of a whistle. Hence, we have to determine whether blowing of the whistle is to count as having the same or different meanings on various occasions. Prof. Price is of the opinion that philosophical questions lack determined sense and depend for their answers upon how we choose to describe the relevant utterances. Wittgenstein was inclined to consider that the "essence of languge is the essence of reality".

But such an ontological inference from grammar would be circular—unless there is some effort to have 'universal grammar'. But again, can such a search for universal grammar be made from a position of ontological neutrality, is a problem, whose answer will throw a great deal of light on the problem of language as a 'scale applied to reality' (*Tractatus*).[5]

It is obviously easier to show that some linguistic features do not belong to universal grammar than the reverse. (This we shall discuss while treating the problem of meaning in the light of connotation and intention, denotation and extension of the term). The way in which one construes a given type of statement depends upon one's general view of the meaning. Thus, when Wittgenstein declares that an inner process stands in need of outer criterion, when he denies the use of a private language on the ground that there can be no language without rules of which the observance can be publicly checked, he is fashoning the mould into which the facts must be made to fit.

(iii) *The criterion of 'use'*

In his later phase, Wittgenstein was more inclined towards the 'use' of the proposition. He says that words have to be in sentences; apart from the sentence words have no meaning i.e. if a word cannot be fitted in any sentence then that word is a mere 'meaningless combination of letters'. But this fittingness should satisfy one condition that is, that it should not be a mere 'a syntactical fittingness' but also the sentence in which it is fitted, should be a meaningful sentence. That is to say, there should be an actual or possible situation in which that sentence may be used. Thus an expression has a meaning only if it can be 'used in some 'situation' actual or possible. In stating Wittgensteinian criterion of meaning, we have used term like, 'use', 'situation', 'possible'. It has been found that many people reject his criterion of meaning due to lack of understanding of this term.

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[4] Ludwig Wittegenstein "Tractatus...." Kegan-Paul, London, esp. p. 31, (1, 1.1, 2).

[5] Ibid. p. 39, (2-15 12).

Connotation and denotation

The notion of 'use' of course goes far beyond that of connotation and denotation, and it is one of the extremely important discoveries of modern semantics, that there are some expressions whose use in certain contexts, is not to connote or denote anything, not even to do either. There are nonconnotative, or non-referential uses of language. But in his article J. N. Findly[6] says that such use of words is parasitic upon a connotative, a referential, and could hardly exist without it. No doubt that the concept of use covers all hidden implications or suggestions, as for example, when I say that he did not commit this murder, I may use this sentence to imply that he committed certain other murders, that I absolutely believe him to be no murderer, that we live under the law forbidding the taking of human life..etc. But all such implications and suggestions are likewise dependent upon the function of directly connoting or denoting something.

'Use' also covers the mere requirements of accidence and syntax, though these are mere 'instruments in the task of significant diction'.

Much has been said about the criticism of 'use' doctrine, about the difference between the closed and the open game (as Wittgenstein calles language, a game). But the discussion ends up with very much what it started from that is, a difference in the spirit with which the respective games are played. A man, e.g. using an open arithmetic simply has a system or general rule for construction of numerals indefinitely. There may be the so-called 'spirit' operative here. But, that it consorts with use-doctrines or that it establishes its superiority, we cannot conceive.

Meaning and Truth

The relation between truth and meaning cannot be discussed unless firstly, we are sure of the meanings of 'meaning' and 'truth'. Wittgenstein tries to suggest their meanings where he says 'The picture represents what it represents independently of its truth or falsehood. Meaning of a sentence then is independent of its truth or falsehood. But the relation between meaninglessness and truth or falsity of the statement is quite different. If a statement is meaningless, it is neither true nor false. The question of truth or falsity does not arise here. Hence, it is essential that the statement should be meaningful. "In the agreement or disagreement of its sense with reality, its truth or falsity concists' (2.222) * [Tractatus.][7]

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[6] Lewis H. D. (ed.) 'Clarity is not enough' Allen & Unwin London, 1963, pp. 339-43.

In a sense, meaning is dependent on truth. Meaning of a statement is dependent on truth of some statement though not on itself. We have to describe the possible situation in terms of some true situations.

Similar point is made by A. J. Ayer when he talks of 'verification in practice, and verification in principle'.[8] Or, strong sense and weak sense of verification.

Another approach to the problem

Broadly speaking, human language may be divided as follows :

Human Language

↓ Hard Language as used by Logicians

↓ Fluid Lang. of Laymen (i.e. non-logicians)
(1) Descriptive (2) Emotive (3) Symbolic

The same classification can be put into technical terms as syntactical language and semantical language. The former is concerned totally with laws which govern the internal consistency of language. While the latter is concerned with the relation of the object with the term in question.

1. Descriptive Meaning

e.g. (i) 'There are two chairs in my room. This states physical fact'
(ii) I respect my teacher. This states an emotive fact.
(iii) I am Brahman. This describes mystical fact.

But all these, physical, psychological or spiritual are descriptive meanings.

B. Russell too gave descriptive theory of meaning. For him, to give meaning is to give its connotation, which is fixed. All that needs to be done, is to state it explicitely. According to Russell, not all words have connotation and hence, they cannot be defined, or, to put it more specifically, their meaning cannot be given, either because they have no cannotation or because their connotiaion cannot be made clear by means of other word. But, whether there are non-connotative words, is a matter of dispute among logicians. J. S. Mill[9] held that proper names have no connotation.

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[7] Ludwig Wittgenstein "Tractatus " Kegan Paul London, 1955, p 43.

[8] Ayer A. J. "Language truth and Logic" Gollancz, London, 1967, p. 9.

[9] Mill J. S. "Philosophy of Scienticfic Method" Hafner Publishing Co., New York 1950, p. 26.

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But to call proper name 'an unmeaning mark is contradiction in terms'. A proper name has a meaning, because it is given to an individual, to distinguish him from other individuals. B. Russell[10] calls proper names 'define descriptions'. His elaborate theory of description shows at least this: that we can talk *significantly* of words that describe nothing. He gives that the example of 'The present king of France is bald'. The minimum of the meaning could be given thus.

1. At least one person reigns over France now.
2. At most one person reigns over France now.
3. There is nobody who reigns over France now, and is not bald.

Since it is clear that at least one of these three constituent propositions is false, the original proposition is false.

2. Emotive Theory of Meaning

Some words are pure exclamations, inarticulate words; there are also apparently articulate expressions or sentences, but whose main purpose is to express feelings, and not represent facts.

The sentences like 'The country is bursting with victory joy' or 'Go to Hell' are emotive sentences. Some positivists hold that every sentence is both representative and expressive but the difference is only of degrees.

3. Symbolic Meaning

There are sentences which are neither representative nor expressive, they are what may be called 'symbolic'. But as we have already said, every sentence has degrees of expressive and representative function. No sentence is purely symbolic. But symbolic function is not common to all the sentence. Symbols in mathematical language are pure symbols, but in ordinary language, i.e. fluid expressions are not symbolic in that sense e.g. 'every effect has cause' is not like '$x + x = 2x$'.

Associate Theories of Meaning

Wittgenstein's theory of Meaning is called language role-theory. Richard and Ogden in their elaborate volume 'Meaning of Meaning' hold referent theory of meaning'. Mr. Ayer and others support what is called 'Verification theory of Meaning'. (We have discussed briefly language role-theory with respect to Wittgenstein).

Referent Theory

That words by themselves have no meaning unless they refer to something. This function of words was one of the three criterion for deciding the meaning, for Wittgenstein. He calls it, picture-theory of meaning.

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[10] Russell B. "Logic and Knowledge" Penguine books, Canada, 1954, p. 48.

Not that the advocate of this theory or referent theory neglect emotive function of words. (As is done by American semantics, e.g. Stuart Chase in his book called ' Tyranny of Words ' . But they do consider it as a handicap.

Comparison

The main trend regarding the problem of meaning could be compared. We can then see, how far it is possible for us to accept one in face of the other.

The two, criteria to be compared are ' statement has a meaning, if there is a method of verification ', and ' sentences or any other expression has meaning if it can be used '.

According to verificability criterion of meaning (as discussed by Ayer),[11] the meaning depends on verifiability, in strong or weak sense' direct or indirect, i.e. in practice or principle. Now such a criterion is necessarily temporal. It is on the basis of such an empirical criterion, that Metaphysics was declared as ' meaningless ', since Metaphysical propositions cannot be verified. Of course, such a concept of meaning is highly modified by modern empiricists and hence, Metaphysical propositions are treated on the merit of individual cases and not on the basis of any generalisation. Prof. Wisdom[12] calls ' verification principle, as a Metaphysical principle '.

Now, the question of ' temporality ' does not arise when the other criterion, i.e. that of ' use ' is applied. It is not the possibility of verification, but ' describability of the meaning giving situation ' that renders it meaningful. Technically we may say that this is a logical concept, whereas verifiability is an empirical concept.

Another important difference between two criteria is this :

In verification theory, the meaning and truth seem to be simultaneous. They, as it were, simulate each other, whereas in describability theory, meaning precedes truth, or falsity. But it may also be contended that even in verification theory, meaning of a statement precedes its truth or falsity. The meaning is a priori, i.e. even before the verification is carried out. Verification gives the expression its truth-function, not its meaning. In order that a statement is meaningful, all that is necessary is its verification. This seeming precedence is merely a chronological precedence, but logically or in principle, the verification criteria of meaning and truth are one and the same. The two criteria of ' verifiability ' and ' verification ' which determine the truth, may be considered as the two stages of the same inquiry. But the question about ' meaning ' is both logically and chronologically prior to the question about truth. Thus, inquiry into the meaning of the statement is even prior to the inquiry into the truth of the statement.

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[11] Ayer A. J. " Language truth and Logic " Gollancz, London, 1967, pp. 9-21.

[12] Wisdom John, " Philosophy and Psycho-Analysis " Basil-Blackwell, Oxford, 1963 p. 51-101.

Here, I may say that, such questions regarding priority do not arise for those who consider meaning truth and reality as identical. And hence, the problem of meaning is not given the status of a 'problem' by them.

The discussion on problem of meaning opens out in various other branches. The important questions to which it leads is :

(i) The problem of Universals
(ii) The problem of Logical Solipsism and
(iii) The problem of negation.

But, none of the criteria we have so far considered will satisfy all these equally. No single criterion can be called universal. A modern critic of these criteria says that each proposition has its own system of logic behind it. If this is not allowed then there can be no justification to the claims of various sciences that are not empirical. But again if this is allowed, then it must be shown on some general principles at least, that communication is possible. Or there is no escape from linguistic solipsism.

General Remarks

Having surveyed broadly the influential criteria of meaning, we can say that none of them stand the challenges from all fields of studies. For example, Wittgenstein's account may satisfy ordinary language, Ayer's account may do justic to empirical sciences and Russell's theory may help us to beware the traps of words as entities. But none of them will take us too far. Meaning is not reduplication of structure; it is not verification or verifiability. It is plainly not what is meant by 'use'. Of course, it is intimately connected with them all. It is, as Findlay says quite convincingly, 'the intentional nature of 'thought',[13] that will give true solution to the problem of meaning. No doubt, the three principles stated above have given the semantic problem, the place that it deserves in philosophy, and for this, we owe a lot to pragmatists before Wittgenstein and to Wittgenstein. They have brought to the level of general attention the role of language in approximating philosophical problems—if and where they thrive. Wittgenstein has indicated the precise nodes where language makes its various creative leaps. But as Ryle says, this philosophy of meaning, so valuably wrong, does not differ profoundly from one that is systematically right. This speaks a lot for the doctrine of 'intended meaning' for 'thought behind our words'. Similar line of argument was suggested by Śaṅkarācārya when he talks of *vācyārtha* and *lakṣyārtha*. The *lākṣaṇika artha* or the intended meaning is the true meaning of an expression.

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[13] Lewis H.D. (ed.), "Clarity is not enough" Allen Unwin Ltd.,, London, 1963, p. 440—Article by J. N. Findlay.

THE PAṬOLA ṢĀHIS OF GILGIT—A FORGOTTEN DYNASTY

By

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Until about fifty years ago hardly anything was known on the history of Gilgit in pre-muslim times except for some very few occasional hints to this area in the annals of the T'ang dynasty, which have been translated by Edouard Chavannes : Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux, 1903 (reprinted Taipei 1969). These annals mention the kingdom of Po-lu, which, however, is called mostly Bolor following the designation used in Islamic sources. Chavannes recognized at once that Bolor should be situated somewhere in the Gilgit area, and up to today not much progress has been achieved in defining the exact geographical position of Bolor in spite of many an effort made.

Besides these few remarks on the political situation of Bolor made by the Chinese, it became evident from reports by European travellers visiting this area during the last century that Buddhism must have flourished once in Gilgit, as some rather impressive basreliefs surviving up to the present day can be hardly overlooked by anybody travelling in that area.[1] And since the lucky find of a whole Buddhist library at Naupur near Gilgit—the famous Gilgit manuscripts—Buddhism in this part of the North West has been studied in many publications.[2] The historical evidence has been collected simultaneously but independantly by G. Tucci and K Jettmar.[3]

When starting to edit the Gilgit manuscripts, Nalinaksha Dutt found the names of rulers belonging to a dynasty unknown up to that time in some of the

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[1] The material on the exploration of Gilgit by the British has been collected conveniently by Keay John, The Gilgit Game, London, 1979.

[2] Hinueber O. V., Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften. In : Nachrichten der Akademi der Wissenschaften in Goettingen. I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1979, No. 12 supplemented in ZDMG 130. 1980. *25* sq. and 131. 1981. *XXX* *XXX*, and : Die Bedeutung des Handschriftenfundes bei Gilgit. XXI. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 24. bis. 29. Maerz in Berlin. Ausgewaehlte Vortraege. ZDMG Supplement V. Wiesbaden 1983. 47-66.

[3] Tucci G. "On Swāt", *East and West*, ISMEO, Rome NS 27, 1977, 9-103, and Jettmar K. "Bolor—A Contribution to the Political and Ethnic Geography of North Pakistan", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 11. 1977, pp. 411-448.

colophons. Thus attention was drawn to the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty for the first time in the introduction to the first volume of Dutt's 'Gilgit Manuscript' appearing in 1939. In the same year M. S. Kual Shastri published his 'Report on the Gilgit Excavation in 1938' in The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Volume 30, where he also edited a small fragment of the *Mahāmāyūrī* mentioning a ruler of the same dynasty. Finally, during the early fourties the political agent at Gilgit sent a copy of the Hatūn inscription to Sir Aurel Stein. In this inscription, too, a *paṭola ṣāhi* king is mentioned. Thus we possess now three kinds of sources for the history of this dynasty: colophons of the Gilgit manuscripts, magic texts such as the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and inscriptions. Strangely enough no coins seem to have come to light up to now, a fact that remains as astonishing as inexplicable.

When trying to reconstruct the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty from these sources we must keep in mind their fragmentary and casual character. This means that some of the conclusions reached at are hypothetical rather than well founded facts. Nevertheless the material seems to be sufficient to draw a however fragmentary picture of the dynastic history of Gilgit during the seventh and eighth centuries.

Although the high importance of the colophons as historical sources was recognized from the very beginning, no systematic study or even a careful edition of this material has been published until recently.[4]

These colophons not only mention the donors of single manuscripts or those persons, for whose merit (*puṇya*) they have been written, but also the names of the following three rulers: Vajrādityanandi, Vikramādityanandi, and Surendravikramādityanandi. This sequence of names as given here has not been chosen at randon, but seems to be the probable chronological order. For, although any method really reliable to infer this sequence is absent, it is from the names themselves that some conclusions may be drawn. Vajrādityanandi seems to be the first ruler, as all later names including those to be mentioned below contain the limb *vikramāditya*. Therofore they seem to be built upon Vikramādityanandi. In Surendravikramādityanandi the names of his father Vikramādityanandi and his mother Surendramālā, both mentioned in the colophon to the *Ratnaketuparivarta* (No. II in my edition), have been combined. If this assumption is correct, we find here a close parallel to the process of giving names as described by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the case of Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa named after his father Lalitāpīḍa and his mother Jayādevī.

Even if a relative chronology of these three kings calling themselves *śrī paṭola deva ṣāhi* or only *śrī deva ṣāhi* may be established tentatively, it should be kept in mind that there is no evidence at all to prove whether or not they followed each other on the throne in an uninterrupted line of succession. Further, as no date is mentioned in any of these colophons the possibility to infer an absolute chronology seems to be ruled out from the very beginning. Nevertheless we may try to reach at an absolute date by help of the palaeography. Proceeding into this direction cautiously, a first hint is given by the fact that these three kings used the same variety of the Gilgit script, namely the so called 'round script', which precedes the proto-*śāradā*. If we should succeed in dating the introduction of proto-*śāradā* to Gilgit, this would furnish us at least with a *terminus ante quem*.

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[4] Hinueber O. V. "Die Kolophone der Gilgit-Handschriften," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 5/6 Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag, Reinbek, 1980 (Festschrift Paul Thieme) pp. 49-82.

Here, a lucky coincidence proves to be helpful. For it is possible to show that a manuscript of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* kept in the SPS Museum in Srinagar (manuscript D of my forthcoming edition) and written in an early form of proto-*śāradā* is a direct copy from a second manuscript also surviving and written in the older round script. For a detailed study of the relevant evidence I refer to the introduction of my edition of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* (published in 1982), and to the article 'Die Bedeutung des Handschriftenfundes bei Gilgit' (cf. note 2 above).

Most fortunately this manuscript in proto-*śāradā* is dated *saṃvatsare tṛtīye*3.[5] However, no era is mentioned, and thus this date seems to be rather disappointing at first, although one important conclusion may be drawn even from this simple dating : No king is mentioned in the colophon. Therefore regnal years can be ruled out safely. Besides this date of an uncertain era, there are others found at Gilgit, all of them smaller than 100. The Hatūn inscription[6] for instance bears the date 47. In this inscription, until recently the only one known from the Gilgit area, the name of a king and a rather impressive title can be read : *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara paṭola deva ṣāhi śrī Navasurendrādityanandideva*. As the palaeography shows, this inscription is later than the manuscript written in proto-*śāradā* and dated in the year three. This means at the same time that Navasurendrādityanandi is later than the first three kings, who are still clinging to the older script. The titles, too, point into the same direction. For *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *parameśvara* are usually adopted by sovereign rulers only. Thus it seems that the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty had succeeded in gaining independence between the years 3 and 47. Unfortunately we are still in no position to know, who the former overlords of Gilgit may have been.

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[5] A photo of this colophon has been published by M. S. Kaul shastri in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Socity*, 30, Bangalore, 1939, plate 1436.

[6] Published by Chakravarti, N. P. "Hatun Rock Inscription of Patola Deva," *Epigraphia Indica* 30, Delhi, 1953/4 pp. 226-231.

Looking for further inscriptional evidence on the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty we find an inscription on the pedestal of bronze no. 31.[7] The donor of this bronze is the *mahārājādhirāja paramiśvara paṭola ṣāhi śri āryā Nandivikramādityanandideva.* The date written on the left side of the pedestal not shown on Pal's photo is read as 6 by him. This reading, however, is not correct. By the kind assistance of Prangopal Pal (Amsterdam), I succeeded in getting a photo of the whole inscription, from which it becomes clear at once that the correct reading of the date is 90. Although the figure written for 90 is somewhat peculiar, any possible doubt is removed by the word *navati* ' ninety ' showing the same linguistic from as found in the Tathāgatabimbakārāpaṇasūtra (ed. by A. Mette in : Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik 7. 1981. p. 135 line 15 and note : *namatime*), and in New Indo-Aryan in Kashmiri *namath.*

This rather scanty epigraphical evidence has been increased considerably during the last few years by the discoveries made first of all by Karl Jettmar, Heidelberg, who has given a preliminary report on his findings in the article.[8] As far as this can be gathered from the photos put at my disposal by Jettmar in his usual liberality, the majority of them are private inscriptions and graffiti. There are, however, exceptions. The most conspicuous is the inscription found near Danyor written in the year 6.[9] Another inscription near Shatial Bridge mentions the year 50. Unfortunately the somewhat unusual *akṣaras* used in this inscription have not yet yielded any coherent reading, although it is certain that no *paṭola ṣāhi* is mentioned. One inscription from Hunza reads *saṃvatsare sa(?)ptanavati* (no. 10/7) out of any further context and therefore without historical value. Before entering into a more detailed discussion on the Danyor inscription it may be useful to investigate the possibility to establish a relation between the dates 3, 47, 90 and any other time reckoning. As no inscription mentions any era, the neccessity arises to find agruments from outside.

Already N. P. Chakravarti, the editor of the Hatūn inscription, tentatively suggested the Laukika era, which is well attested and widely in use in the ancient North West. The Laukika era never gives the centuries, what fits well in to the dates known up to now. The Hatūn inscription alone was too small a basis for finding the relevant century. Starting again now on the ground of a broader evidence, the palaeography favours the seventh century without excluding a later date. The additional evidence from the bronze no. 31 now connects the dates to the development of the history of art, and the year three should be very near to the time when proto-*śāradā* superseded the older round script.

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[7] Pal Pratapaditya; Bronzes of Kashmir, Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstatt Graz, Delhi, 1975, plate 31.

[8] Jettmar Karl, " Felsbilder und Inschriften am Karakorum Highway " (Rock carvings and inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway), *the Central Asiatic Journal,*, Vol. 24, 0. . Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 185 221.

[9] Fussman G. " Inscriptions de Gilgit " *Bulletin de l' École Francaiṣe de l Extreme-Orient* 65, Ecole Francaise de l ' Exatreme-Orient, Paris, 1978. p. 4.

When converting the years 3, 47 and 90 into the Christian era on the assumption of the Laukika era, 24/5 years must be added. Therefore the dates are 27/28, 71/2 and 14/15.

Starting from the year 3–27/8 in order to find out the relevant century, 527/8 is certainly by far too early for proto-*śāradā*, while 627/8 would be a probable date without 727/8 being ruled out either. If 627/8 should be correct, the bronze no. 31 must be dated in 714/5, which results in a date somewhat earlier than the one generally assumed by art historians. Thus we are faced with a dilemma first. Although the palaeography seems to favour 627/8 for the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript, the development of art in the North West points to the eighth century rather or even to the ninth. As this bronze is the only dated monument during this early period, the settelment of its date would furnish a much safer basis for further investigations into the development of art in the North West.

On reasons, which will become evident presently, it does not seem to be advisable to assume that more than one century lapsed between the writing of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* and the casting of bronze no. 31. Therefore, it, becomes imperative to adduce further evidence for narrowing the possible time limit. This evidence can be found in the Imperial Annals mentioned earlier.

As Chavannes found out long ago, the name of one of those kings of P'o-lu or Bolor can be reconstructed from the Chinese as Sanskrit Surendrāditya. Chavannes' suggestion, however, did not meet with approval, as no such name was known from any Indian dynasty at the beginning of this century. Now the colophons of the Gilgit manuscripts confirm Chavannes' reconstruction and they communicate at the same time the name of the dynasty to which this king belongs. It is of some consequence to the history of the *paṭola śāhi* dynasty that Surendrāditya was recognized as king of Bolor by the Imperial Chinese Court in the same year, during which his predecessor, Su-fu-shê-li-chi-ni whose Sanskrit name has not yet been found, died, namely in 720. This Surendrāditya is the last king known to have ruled in Great Bolor.

This information collected from the T'ang Annals can be connected to some notes on Bolor found in Huei-Ch'aŏ's account on his travels in this region during the early eighth century.[10] He informs us that the king of Great Bolor was forced to flee to Little Bolor, and that both kingdoms had a common capital.

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[10] Fuchs W. : Huei-ch ‘ ao ’s Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentralasien um 726, W. de Gruyter, Berlin, 1938.

According to this account both kingdoms seem to have merged by 725, or Great Bolor, and consequently the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty lost their sovereignty to Little Bolor. After that event up to the Chinese conquest of Bolor in 747, the T'ang Annals again mention some names of kings of Bolor showing a definitely different structure from those of the *paṭola ṣāhi*s.

Accoriding to the T'ang Annals the dates of Surendrāditya, the last king of great Bolor and the last *paṭola ṣāhi*, ruled between 720 and about 725. His predecessor Su-fu-shê-li-chi-ni is recognized by China in 717. Consequently he ruled for three years only: 717-720. And again his predecessor, whose name unfortunately is passed over in silence by the T'ang Annals sent embassies to China in 696 and 713. According to these dates this must have been Nandivikramādityanandi known to us as donor of the bronze no. 31 in 14/5-714/5. Therefore his reign started in 696 at the latest.

If these assumptions are correct in combining the evidence of the T'ang Annals with the information found in the inscriptions, an important date for the so called Kashmir bronzes, which should be called Gilgit bronzes rather, can be reached at. As bronze no. 31 can be dated now with some confidence in 714/5, the chronology and consequently the whole dating of the Gilgit bronzes needs revision.

At the same time the dates of the Hatūn inscription and the dated Saṃghāṭasūtra can be calculated as 671/2 and 627/8 respectively. This again results in a highly important date marking the turning point in the history of script in the North West: about 620-630 proto-*śāradā* superseded the older round script.

As to the *paṭola ṣāhi* dyansty, we are in the position now to draw up the following list of kings:

Before 630 :
Vajrādityanandi : paramadevī Maṃgalahasirikā
Vikramādityanandi : paramadevī Torakaṃsikā
śāmīdevī Saharaṇamālā
devī Surendrabhaṭṭārikā
devī Di.....puṇyā

mahādevī Surendramālā
uvakhī śrī mahādevī Dilnitapuṇyā
Surendravikramādityanandi : śāmīdevī Trailokadevībhaṭṭārikā
(king not known) : devī Śābyakhātunenā
After 630 :
Navasurendrādityanandi : Anaṅgadevī—date: Hatūn inscription 671/2

Nandivikramādityanandi : (no queen known)—date : bronze no. 31,714/5 rules ca. 696-717
Su-fu-shê-li-chi-ni : (no queen known)—rules 717-720
Surendrāditya : (no queen known)—rules 720-ca. 725
After 725 :
Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi : (no queen known)—date : Danyor inscription 730/1

This list need some further explanation : Before discussing the king of the Danyor inscription the titles of the queens call for some comment. They are mentioned in colophons with the exception of *devī* Śābyakhātunenā, who had a copy of the Mahāpratisarā Vidyārājñī written in the older round script. Therefore she was inserted into the list before 630. Her possible connection to any of the rulers is not known. A second copy of the Mahāpratisarā Vidyārājñī was written at the instigation of Trailokadevī. In this text her name occurs without any title, but we know from a colophon that she was queen to Surendravikramādityanandi.

Four queens of his predecessor are named in two colophons. It is of special interest to note the different titles of two of them. As the sequence of names within a colophon almost certainly is according to their respective rank, we may infer that the highest rank was of course that of a *paramadevī* probably followed by *mahādevī*, who in turn was superior to an *uvakhī śrī mahādevī*. Unfortunately the meaning of *uvakhī* is as obscure as the language to which it may belong. The same holds good for *śāmīdevī . . . bhaṭṭārika*. At the same time there are no means to determine her exact relation to a *mahādevī* : she may be superior as well as inferior. The lowest rank is that of a simple *devī*. If *-bhaṭṭārikā* is added at the end of a name, this means a higher rank within one class, as it is well known from other epigraphical evidence.

As Surendra (mālā) and Dilnitapuṇyā occur twice in different colophons with different titles, we cannot only infer the relative chronology of the respective manuscripts from their upranking. This also shows that there was a kind of a career to be followed up by queens. As far as my knowledge goes this system of ranks of queens as found in the colophons of the Gilgit manuscripts seems to be unique in its comprehensiveness in the premuslim history of India.

It has been mentioned already that the queens Trailokadevī and Śābyakhātunenā had a *Pañcarakṣā* text, the Mahāpratisarā Vidyārājñī written on their behalf. Besides five manuscripts of this text in the older round Gilgit script, there are fragments of two Mahāmāyūrī manuscripts both written in proto-*śāradā*.[11] As both texts constitute parts of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection, this again is a further proof that the different scripts used at Gilgit cannot be connected to special classes of texts.

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[11] For further details see my artical : " Namen in Schutzzaubern aus Gilgit, " *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 7, 1981, pp. 163-171.

Besides these longer *Pañcarakṣā* texts there are some rather short magical texts written on small rolls of birch bark. Four such rolls with identical contents have come to light so far. Three of them have been published (see note 9 above). All ol them have been written to protect the king *śrī* Navasurendra. There can be hardly any doubt that this name is a shortened form of Navasurendrādityanandi, who had not only the Mahāmāyūrī manuscript written as discovered long ago by M. S. Kaul Shastri, but who is also mentioned in the Hatūn inscription.

After reconstructing the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty of Gilgit we can now proceed to another historical document mentioned already; the inscription of Danyor. Although this inscription was discovered in 1958 already by an Austrian expedition, it was only last year by the joint efforts of K. Jettmar and V. Thewalt, Bonn, that I received photos together with a rubber cast. This inscription, which measure 4, 5xo, 6m altogether and comprehends five lines of writing, is damaged heavily in many parts. Therefore no complete reading has been reached at upto now.

In spite of this even from the preliminary reading some valuable conclusions can be drawn. From the last two lines read completely the type of the inscription emerges: it is a gift of some kind or other, as we find the well known formula '. .*rāgādvā vyatikramyānyathā kuryāt sa pañcabhir mahāpātakais sopapātakais saṃyuktas syād iti.* As the word *bhu* can be recognized in a most unfortunately still unclear context, it may be some kind of land grant.[12]

Further important information is furnished by the last line: ' written by order by the chief of the archive Narendra in the year 6 on the 2nd bright day of the month Phālguna '. If we continue to use the Laukika era the earliest possible date is the year 630/1 bringing this inscription very near to the dated Saṃghāṭasūtra manuscript. This, however, seems to be rather early not only on palaeographic reasons.

Turning to the first line of the inscription we read '*parameśvara śrī* Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandideva [' . Although this name fits well into the system used by the *paṭola ṣāhis*, the absence of the title *paṭola ṣāhi* is conspicuous. At the same time the ruler is not even *mahārājādhirāja* or *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, what seems to be a rather clear hint to a decline in sovereignty. As, on the other hand, the name still follows the pattern of the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty, one may be inclined to think that this ruler belongs to the period after the last king of Great Bolor retired to Little Bolor about 725. Thus the year 6 of this inscription should be 730/1. Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi seems to have issued the Danyor grant as a ruler of limited, perhaps only local power.

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[12] *Bhū* occurs rather frequently in land grants from Chamba: Vogel: J. Ph. Antiquities of Chamba State —Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series XXXVI, Calcutta, 1911.

Thus he seems to be the last of the *paṭola ṣāhis*, who had lost his dynastic title together with his sovereignty. Therefore this dynasty, which can be followed up from rather modest beginnings judged on the basis of the titles during the sixth and early seventh century, reached its zenith during the later seventh century and and headed for rapid decline during the early decades of the eighth century. Hardly more than the names of the kings have survived up to the present day, and no evidence remains to show any connections to the Indian subcontinent proper. In spite of this the *paṭola ṣāhis* certainly had some international links with Central Asia. As we can infer from the Gilgit manuscripts during the reign of the *paṭola ṣāhis*, close cultural connections between Gilgit and especially Khotan must have existed. This connection together with its cultural and religious impact, which is emerging only gradually (see 'Bedeutung des Handschriftenfundes bei Gilgit', note 2 above), needs and deserves further investigation.

TERRACOTTAS AND ITS RELATION WITH TRIBAL TRADITION OF WORSHIP IN GUJARAT

By
S. A. HASHIM*

The history of terracottas in Gujarat is very old. Almost every excavated site has yielded animal or human figurines. The most common and ancient of the animal figurines discovered from various excavated sites seem to be the humped bull. In Gujarat, it has been discovered from Dhatva,[1] Dwarka,[2] Shamlaji,[3] Devnimori,[4] Baroda[5] and Champaner.[6] Next is elephant figurines, which has been discovered from Jokha,[7] Devnimori, Baroda and Champaner. Figurines of horses are very rare which have been discovered only from Baroda and Champaner, which seems to be mediaeval origin. Among the human figurines mother goddesses from Dhatva and Timbarva[8] have been found. Besides these figurines Buddha's images from Devnimori are the most eloquent specimens of craftmanship.

At present various types of terracotta objects are made in Gujarat. These objects can be classified into two broad categories.

(i) Secular terracottas
(ii) Ritual Terracottas

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 36, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 1986-June, 1987 issue, pp. 231-236.

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[1] Mehta R. N. : *Excavation at Dhatva*, M. S. University, Baroda, 1975, pp. 28-46.

[2] Ansari, Z. D. and others : *Excavation at Dwarka*, Deccan College, Poona, 1966, pp. 69-98.

[3] Mehta R. N. and others, *Excavation at Shamalaji*, M. S. University, Baroda, 1967, pp. 18-40.

[4] Mehta R. N. Chowdhry S. N. and others, *Excavation at Devnimori*, M. S. University, Baroda, pp. 69-87.

[5] Subbarao, B. *Baroda through the Ages*, M. S. University, Baroda, 1953, pp. 36-52.

[6] Mehta R. N., *Excavation at Chanpaner*, M. S. University, Baroda, 1982.

[7] Mehta R. N. and others, *Excavation at Jokha*, M. S. University, Baroda, 1971, pp. 18-33.

[8] Mehta R. N., *Excavation at Timbarva*, M. S. University, Baroda, 1955, pp. 7-18.

(i) *Secular Terracottas or ' Terracotta Toys '*

Various types of terracotta toys are made. Various types of animal figures such as goat, cow, elephant, horse etc. are very common among the toys. Similarly birds like parrot, sparrow and peacock are also made as toys.

Besides these types of terracottas they also manufacture toy-vessels and toy-utensils like small ' *ghada* ' small ' *gon* ' small ' *batak* ' small ' *gagara* ' etc.

These toys are mostly made for children. However, some of better finished objects are also used as decorative pieces in the houses.

These objects are made either by hand or by the mould—process. Most of the Ajmeri potters, who specialize in these objects, use the mould-process, as this process is much faster, and gives standard shapes and a better finish.

(ii) *Ritual Terracottas*

All the terracottas which represent gods or goddesses or sacrificial animals could be classified under this category.

These terracottas again could be classified into three sub-groups :

(a) Human figurines

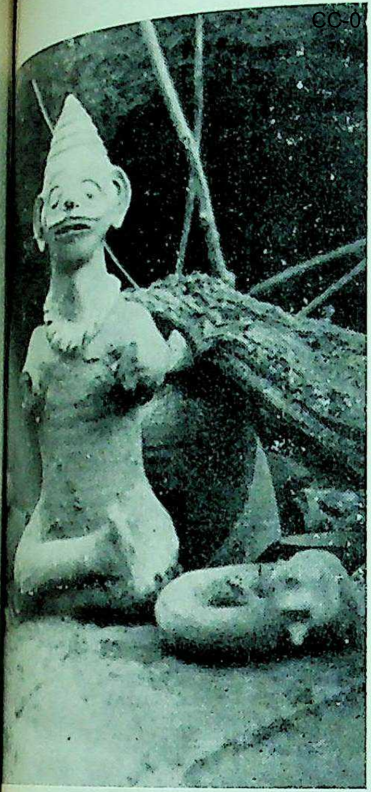
(b) Composite human and animal figurines

(c) Animal figurines.

Human figurines: (*Pl.* 1) Male and female both types of human figurines representing gods and godesses are manufactured in these districts.

Among all the deities ' Gaṇapati ', ' Śiva ', ' Pārvatī ' and ' Durgājī ' are the most popular deities among the people. These figurines are manufactured for special occasions or important festivals, mostly by order from the customers. But figurines of Gaṇapati are usually moulded throughout the year and they are easily available at all the places. Ajmeri potters of these districts manufacture all the gods and goddesses in conventional style and decorate them with various colours. There are three families of Ajmeri potters at Vagra in Broach who are very famous for this craft in the neighbouring area.

These figurines are made in various sizes ranging between 1.5 meters to 10 cms. Figurines of Gaṇapati are generally made in two or three sizes. In these figurines Gaṇapati is generally shown with all his attributes. Figurines of Śiva and Pārvatī are generally shown together, though, sometimes they also prepare separate figurines for them. Figurines of Durgā are generally made at the time of ' *Durgā Pūjā* '. Besides these deities some crude forms of male and female figures are also manufactured which are generally worshipped as gods and godesses and kept at ' *Devasthāna* ', i.e., the place of worship by Bhils and Rathwas of these districts.



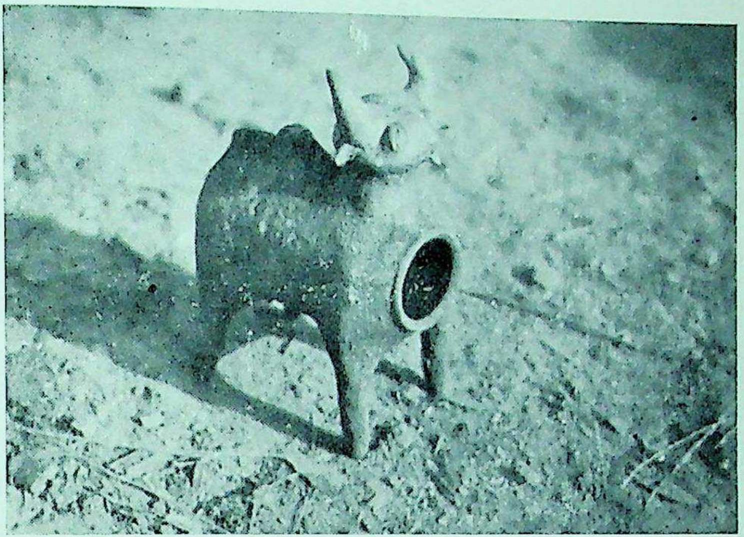


Plate-2
Buffalo

Plate-1
Human Figurines and Serpent

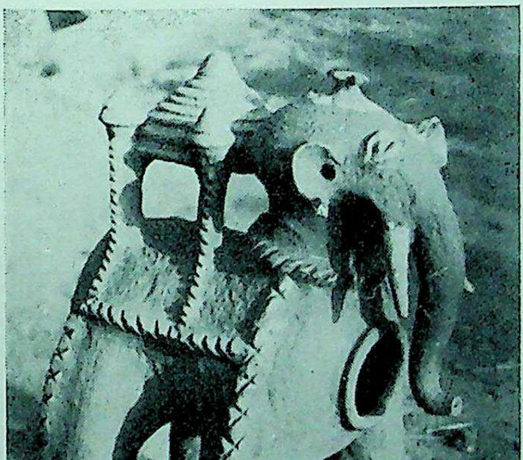


Plate-3
Elephant

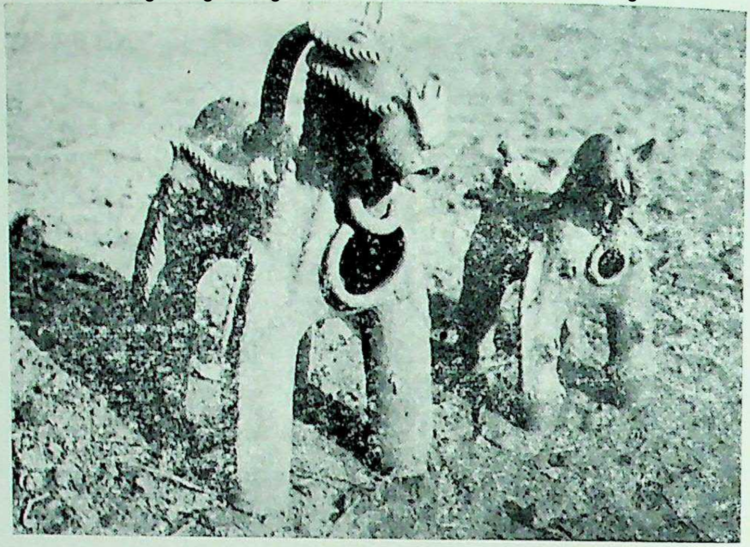


Plate-4
Horse

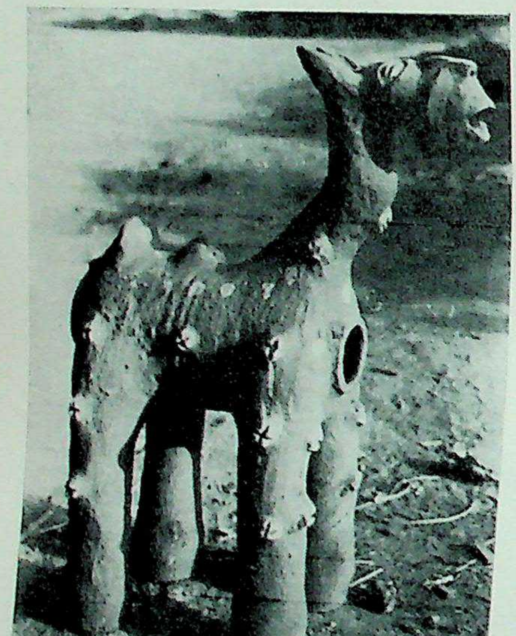


Plate-5
Camel

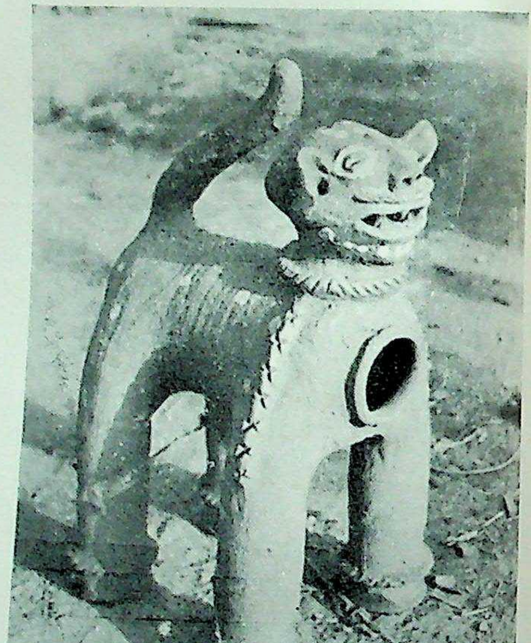


Plate-6
Tiger

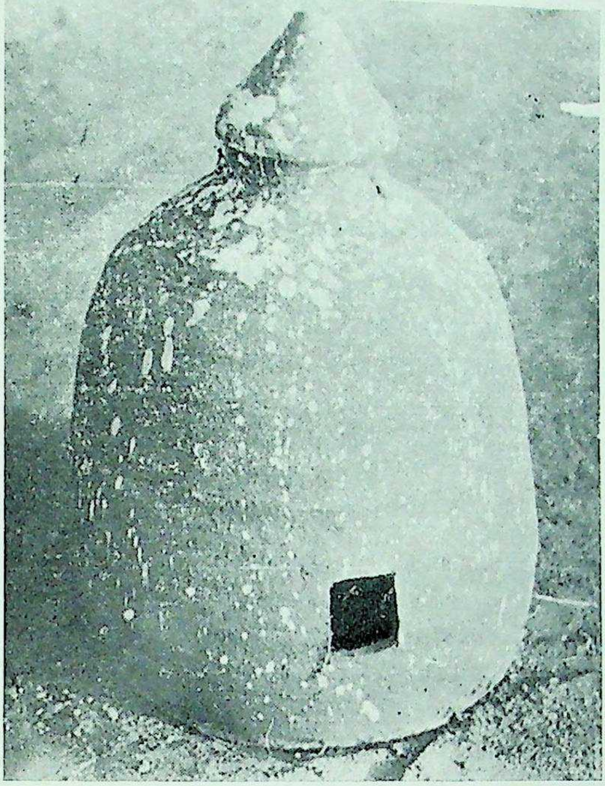


Plate-7
Temple

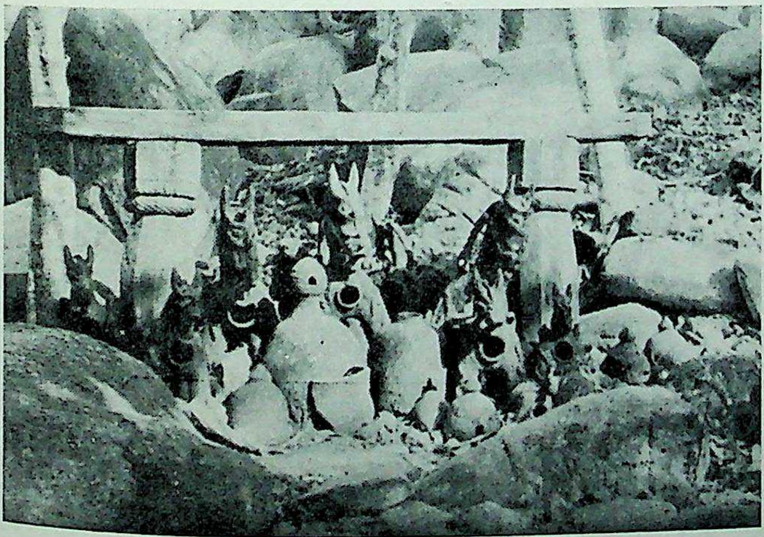


Plate-8
Devasthāna

One big figurine of a male god having a height of 40 cms., is made at Zoz village in Chhotaudaipur taluka of Baroda district. This figurine represents the main deity of tribal people of that area. This figurine is generally represented as a young warrior with big moustaches, in sitting position. It is kept at the '*Devasthāna*' as a protector of the tribes in that area. (Pl. 1).

Composite Human and Animal Figurine (Pl. 1) : In the tribal area, some of human figurines are represented as sitting on the back of an animal. The figurine of a man sitting on an elephant is the most common. It is a composite specimen. The elephant is always shown in standing position. The elephant and the rider are separately moulded and then joined together. The elephant is shown with four round legs, hollow body, very big mouth and a broad forehead, big ears, prominent ears and a big trunk with two tusks. *Mandap* ('*Ambadi*') is also attached to the back of the elephant. It is highly decorated by incised designs as well as with white colour. The rider is shown sitting near the forehead of the elephant with right hand in raised position and left hand resting on the forehead of the animal. The elephant is very big, i.e. about 1 meter in size, and the rider is also proportionately big.

These figurines are generally made by Ajmeri potters, but also sometimes by Varia potters in these districts.

Animal figurines : Various types of animal-figurines are also made in these districts which are generally kept at the '*Devasthāna*' by Bhils, Rathwas and other tribal people of the area at special occassions.

The following types of animal figurines are found in these districts :

(i) '*Pāḍo*' (Buffalo)
(ii) '*Hāthī*', (Elephant)
(iii) '*Ghoḍo*' (Horse)
(iv) '*Ooṇṭa*' (Camel)
(v) '*Bāgha*' (Tiger)
(vi) '*Nâga*' (Serpent)

These are described below :

'*Pāḍo*' (*Pl.* 2) *:* It is made of a hollow body with four round legs, small neck and a head having two ears, prominent eyes and two conical horns. In size, it is smaller than the other terraccota animals.

'*Hāthī*' (*Pl. 3*) *:* (Elephant) is made with four round big legs, hollow body, big head with prominent eyes and ears, big trunk and two tusks. On the back there is an umbrella type of '*mandap*' with four tapering pillars. The pillars of the '*mandap*' and the body portions of the elephant are decorated with oblique incised designs, and the legs of the elephant are decorated with crossed incised designs. Each leg of the elephant has a ring made by attaching a roll of clay. It is also obliquely incised.

'*Ghoḍo*' (*Pl. 4*): (Horse) The clay horses in these districts are found in different shapes, forms and sizes. But broadly they are of two types :

(i) A horse having a small hollow body on which a small neck with a small disc type round mouth is found. Two ears are also shown on the head. The horse is always shown in standing position. The upper portion of the back of the horse has three grooves representing the saddle and the tail.

(ii) Another type of horse is bigger in size. It has hollow body with four round legs, long neck with two ears and big mouth. Mouth of the horse is joined with the upper portion of the front legs with the help of a clay belt and a clay ring is made inside this belt. The neck of the horse is joined with the middle of the back by a clay belt. The tail is shown by three big ledges. The body of the horse is decorated with two rows of oblique incised designs. The legs and the neck of the horse are also decorated with the same design.

'*Ooṇṭa*' (Camel) : (*Pl. 5*) It is made with four long round legs, hollow body, a very long neck and a very big open mouth, two big ears and very prominent eyes. The back portion of the camel is shown very prominently by putting extra clay on it. Whole of the body is decorated with incised crossed small flowers.

'*Bāgha*' (Tiger) : (*Pl. 6*) It too has a hollow body, four round legs and a very big round head. Its legs have rings which are also decorated with incised design. On the neck also there is a ring with oblique incised design. Ears are shown on the front side and are very prominent. Eyes are also big and are decorated with white colour. Mouth of the tiger is open and four canine teeth are prominent. The tail is shown in erect position, bending towards the head. Front portion of the tiger is decorated with incised crossed design. Some strips are shown on the body of the animal.

'*Nāga*' (Serpent) : (*Pl 1*) A big *nāga* is generally made in coiled position with erect hood, or sometimes hood, resting on the body. Hood is always made in big size with open mouth and protruding tongue.

Tribal Traditions of Worship :

Most of the figurines produced and used in this region are related to the tribal traditions of worship.

The 'Bhil' is one of the dominant tribes of these districts. The Bhil pantheon has a considerable number of gods and goddesses, and they believe in witch-craft and ghost-spirits. In the forest, near an old tree or well or on a prominent hillock they offer to their deities, ghosts or spirits earthen jars, earthen horses and other animal figurines and beehive-shaped vessels known as '*mandir*' or '*dabu*' (*Pl. 7*). In honour of the gods and spirits they also raise beams of timber on two poles as an altar. Here they sacrifice goats, buffaloes or cocks, and afterwords eat the sacrificed animals. This place is known as '*Devasthāna*', (*Pl. 8*).

The animal held in utmost veneration by the Bhils is the horse. If a prayer has been granted, they often make clay horses and put it at '*Devasthāna*' and also offer sacrifices of goats, buffaloes or cocks as they promise to the gods.[9] In many of their legends, the principal events of life depend on the assistance or advice of an enchanted horse.[10] The Bhils of Rajpipla, Dediapada and Halol area, generally offer small clay horses while in Chhotaudaipur taluka, particularly near Zoz, they offer big clay horses. Along with this, they also offer figurines of elephant, camel, buffalo and sometimes human figurines as well. The '*devasthāna*' in Zoz is on the top of a hill near a thick forest. There, they have made an alter to offer sacrifices and after each sacrifice they keep clay animals according to the promise made to the gods, goddesses, or ghosts.

Sacrifices and offerings vary according to the status of god and goddess. Major deities of their pantheon are described below.

'*Nandervo*' : He is one of the high gods of the Bhils. He is the presiding deity of corn.[11] Nobody can see him and nobody knows where he stays. He is offered a cock and a goat every alternate year and clay '*mandirs*', clay horses and earthen jars are kept near the alter at '*devasthāna*' each time a sacrifice is made.

'*Hirkulye*' : He is a high god of agriculture.[12] He is worshipped at the headman's house when the rains come. All the men, women and children dance for the whole of the night and the next morning they go and sacrifice a goat or a fowl to the god and place a small clay horse (and a beehive shaped jar, i.e., '*mandir*') at the '*devasthāna*'.

'*Kalaji*' : '*Kalaji*', though originally from amongst the group of god images revered by the Rathore tribe, is worshipped as a god in the form of a Serpent. The Bhils consider *Kalaji* to be the deity of cattles.[13] Cattles have a pivotal position in their economy, and hence the importance of this deity. When animals fall prey to any disease the cattle god is promised an offering. If a cow stops giving milk, a promise is made to the god that a definite quantity of purified butter 'ghee' would be offered to it. If the prayer is granted they offer the same and keep an idol of a '*nāga*' (serpent) near the '*devasthāna*'.

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[9] Naik T. B., *The Bhils* (Rajpipla and Khandesh) Bharatjya Adimiati Sevak Sangh, Delhi, 1956, p. 311.

[10] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Province* Vol. 9, Pt. I, pp. 294-311.

[11] Naik T. B., *The Bhils* op. cit.

[12] *Ibid.*,

[13] Shambhulal Doshi, *Bhils Between Social Self Awareness and Cultural Synthesis*, Sterling Publishers, 1971, p. 160.

'*Wāghadeva*': '*Wāghadeva*' (or 'Bāgha', i.e., tiger) is more feared than loved. He is supposed to be of short temper, and if displeased, hurts their cattles or family members. Though, they do not believe a tiger to be a god, but all the same they perform rituals to please the '*Wāghadeva*'. For this ritual villagers buy a goat, go to the '*devasthāna*', throw some grains over the animal and sprinkle water over its body and then tie it with a rope to the altar. Then someone cuts head with a single stroke. They also keep an idol of '*bāghadeva*' i.e., a figurine of '*bāgha*' (tiger) at the *devasthāna*'.

Thus this study shows that most of the ritual terracottas produced in the tribal region of Gujarat have considerable association with the tradition of worship as well as tribal deities of particular region where it is offered. Secondly it is also used as effigy of the sacrificed animal.[14]

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[14] During my fieldwork, I was informed in one of the tribal villages in Panchmahals that before sometimes they use to sacrifice even human beings and human figurines were kept instead.

AN EARLY IMAGE OF LAKULĪŚA FROM EASTERN INDIA

By

GAUTAM SENGUPTA*

Lakulīśa-Pāśupata was an ancient *Śaiva* sect which probably had its origin in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his seminal studies, argued that Lakulīśa, otherwise known as Lakuṭapāniśa and/or Nakulīśa, an eminent *Śaiva* teacher founded the sect sometime around 1st-2nd century A. D. Bhandarkar edited some inscriptions bearing on this problem and pieced together textual evidence on the identity of Lakulīśa. According to the *Vāyū Purāṇa*, Lakulīśā was the 28th and the last incarnation of Śiva-Maheśvara who incarnated himself at a place called Kāyāvarohaṇa (modern Karvan, near Baroda, Gujarat state) and expounded the Pāśupata system to four of his principal disciples, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kāruṣya.[1] This account, with certain minor variations, was repeated in some other *Purāṇa*s and *māhātmya*s of fairly late date.[2] At least, two early mediaeval inscriptions from Western India[3] provide significant information on Lakulīśa.

J. N. Banerjee, however contended that Lakulīśa was not the founder of the *Pāśupata* sect but its real systematiser[4], V. S. Pathak made a distinction between the original *Pāśupata* sect founded by Śrīkaṇṭha and the later one established by Lakulīśa.[5] Notwithstanding the difference on the position of *Lakulīsa* vis-a-vis the *Pāśupata* system, most of the scholars seemed to have accepted his historicity. David Lorenzen had contradicted this position because of almost total absence of ‘ solid historical information ’.[6]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 36, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 1986-June 1987 issue, pp. 237-243.

* Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

[1] Bhandarkar, D. R. “ An Eklingji Stone inscription and the origin and history of the Lakulīśa sect ”, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXII, 1906, pp. 156-168.

[2] Bhandarkar D. R., “ Lakulīśa ”, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Reports, Delhi, 1906-07, pp. 179-192.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 189.

[4] Banerje J. N., *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Jaipur Session, Indian History Congress, 1951, p. 32f.

[5] Pathak V. S., *Śaiva Cult in Northern India*, Varanasi 1960, p. 8.

[6] Lorenzen David N., *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*, Two Lost Śaivite Sects, Thomson Press, New Delhi, 1972, p. 177.

The available evidence tended to indicate that by the 4th century A.D. Lakulīśa was already incorporated within the *Śaiva* pantheon and his image began to be fashioned in permanent material. Although the earlier texts like the *Vāyū Purāṇa* did not go into the details about the iconographic features of Lakulīśa, nevertheless in them some of the more significant elements were clearly suggested. Ithyphallicism was recognised as one such essential feature.[7] The importance of this particular feature is borne out by the fact that most of the early Śiva images are represented as ithyphallic.[8] Another important cognizable symbol was Lakuṭa or the staff, its presence justified the name of this type. Subsequently, Lakulīśa was endowed with some other features, most of which were probably borrowed from standard Brahmanical iconographic traditions. Thus in some of the relatively unknown texts of a late data,[9] two other features were mentioned, viz., *padmāsana* mode of sitting and a mātuliṅga (citrus fruit) held on his right hand. Turning to extant images, one notices still further elaboration of the iconographic traits. Lakulīśa is sometimes shown with a manuscript in his hand, a *chatra* over the head, a bull mount on the pedestal of the image[10] and wearing *yajñopavīta.*[11] Of greater significance is Lakulīśa's association with *Vyākhyāna-mudrā* probably as the greatest exponent of the *Pāśupata* system. This particular gesture came into use in an early date and was found depicted in a large number of images. Besides the *Vyākhyāna-mudrā*, the hands are also shown resting either on the lap or the knees or aligned in *varada-mudrā.*[12]

The images of Lakulīśa date from the Gupta period. Inspite of R. C. Agarwala's assertion[13] they cannot be pushed back earlier than the 4th century A.D. It is necessary to point out in this connection that Agarwala's proposed identification of a squattish figure with erect penis, seated in *utkuṭikāsana* on the top portion of a Chaturmukhalinga at Nanda near Puṣkar (Ajmer,

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[7] Note the term *ūrdhvaretasa in Liṅga-Purāṇa* as quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* note 1.

[8] Coomaraswamy A. K., *History of Indian And Indonesian Art,* Dover Publication Inc., New York, 1965, Pl. XLVII, Fig. 66.

[9] Majumdar M. R., " Lakulīśa Images From Western India ", *P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume,* Part III, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1960, p. 108.

[10] Nautiyal K. P., " Two Lakulīśa Representations From Kumaon ", *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Vol. XIII, 1963, pp. 54-59.

[11] Majumdar M. R., *Op. cit.*, Fig. 5, 6, 8, 9 & 12.

[12] *Ibid.*, Fig. A.

[13] Agarwala R. C., " Unpublished Sculptures and Terracottas From Rajasthan ", *Journal of Indian History,* University of Kerala, Trivandrum, Vol. 42, 1963, pp. 54-59.

Rajasthan) as Lakulīśa, is far from conclusive. The absence of Lakuṭa is significant. The presence of more than one figure on the body of the liṅga is probably indicative of the multiple forms of Śiva-an iconic type not unknown in Western India.[14] The earliest known figurative representation of Lakulīśa is to be found at the base of a pillar at Mathura, dated C 375-380 A.D.[15] It depicts a standing male figure of stocky built holding a staff-like object in his right hand; his head distinguished by flowing *jaṭā*. The identification of the figure cannot be considered as final and a recent suggestion seeking to identify it as a *Gaṇa* figure is not without relevance.[16] Another Mathura figure brings out the essential iconographic features of this type as they evolved by the 5th century A. D. Lakulīśa is shown seated in *utkuṭikāsana*, a band running along the knees, his hands placed on the chest probably in *vyākhyāna mudrā* and the staff laid on the left shoulder. A devotee on either side attends on him.[17]

The spread of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata cult in different parts of the subcontinent is difficult to explain in all possible details. It appears that by c. 7th-8th century A.D., it spread over a fairly wide area stretching between the Brahmaputra valley of Assam in the east to Kasmir in the north and Trichinopoly dt. of Tamilnadu in the south.[18] Admittedly, most of the Lakulīśa figures from these areas cannot be dated earlier than the 7th-8th century A.D., but there seems to be little justification for such claims that 'Chronologically speaking, we do not have any Lakulīśa image before the 6th century A.D.'[19] In this note, we propose to discuss about an early Lakulīśā figure from Eastern India.

It is generally believed that the figural representation of Lakulīśa became common in Eastern India by the early mediaeval period.[20] Reference is also made in this connection to Bhagalpur copper plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla (C. 877 A.D.) recording endowments in favour of Śiva Bhaṭṭāraka and his

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[14] Gorakshkar S., "The Parel Mahadeva Reassessed. And Two Newly Discovered Images From Parel", *Lalitkalā*, No. 20, Lalitkala Akademi, New Delhi, undated, Fig. 1-3.

[15] Bhandarkar D. R., "*Corpus Inscription Indicarum*" (Revised) Vol. III, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1981, Pp. 236-39.

[16] Williams Joanna, "The Art of Gupta India", Princeton University Press Princeton, 1982, p. 29, Pl. 16.

[17] *ibid.*, Pl. 229.

[18] Mahalingam T. V., "The Pāśupatas in South India", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXVII, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1949, P. 52.

[19] Soundara Rajan K. V., "Lakulīśa and Liṅga Polymorphism", *Vishvesvarananda Indological Journal,* Vol. II, 1964, p. 118.

[20] Banerjea J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1956, p. 481

Pāśupata teachers.[21] The pāśupatas, in this context, are most likely the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas. The extant specimens, indicate the prevalance of Lakulīśa images in Eastern India, i.e. Bihar, Bengal and Assam from a still early date. One of the early Lakulīśa image is known from West Bengal. Leaving aside the dobtful Mathura figure of C. 375/380 A.D., it is probably one of the earliest Lakulīśa reported so far.

The image under discussion is preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta and being displayed in its East Indian Sculpture Gallery.[22] It is carved out of a red stone of dark grey shade and reported to have come from an unspecified site of Murshidabad, a westernly district of West Bengal. The figure (37 × 39 × 14.6 CMS) is considerably damaged. Its head as well as lower part of the body are totally lost. The face is badly abraided but a portion of the halo has survived. The hands, laid on the chest, were probably aligned in the expository gesture. A staff is placed on the left shoulder and traces of a *yajñopavīta* are faintly visible.

Despite its damaged condition, there is hardly any doubt about the identification of the figure. But its probable date and stylistic affiliations are problematic. The erosion of facial features and the loss of head forestall any attempt at precise dating. One must turn towards certain broad features in order to arrive at a dependable chronological position. The variety of stone employed in fashioning the piece is an important indication of its early date—it stands in direct contrast to more widely used basalt of different shades that became material parse by the 9th century A.D. But of greater significance is the built of the figure. The rounded shoulder seems to be slightly upraised and the powerful hands combined with the expansive chest convey the feeling of immense strength disciplined by yogic exercise. This sense is reiterated by the solid staff rising to the level of the head. Needless to say, this powerful physical type throbbing with inner strength is not without parallel in Eastern India. As such, the date of the Asutosh Museum Lakulīśa can be ascertained by comparison with similar pieces.

As a cognizable stylistic element, the powerful physical type is a legacy of the Kuṣāṇa idiom. By the 5th century A.D. it had assumed a distinctive character shifting gradually to an emphasis on the latent strength. The way it evolved at the initial phase can be illustrated by a Narasiṁha image from Shahkund, Bhagalpur district, Bihar, carved in dark-grey stone,[23] which despite its small size is permeated with an extraordinary sense of virility expressed through compact torso and muscular limbs. On the other hand, the muscular tension evident on the surface of Shahkund Narasiṁha is conspicuously absent in the Jina figures covered in a row of six at Sonbhandar cave, Rajgir, Bihar.[24] They stand comparison with the inscribed Buddha images from Sarnath dated between A.D. 473/74 and 476/477.[25] The Sarnath Buddhas are distinguished by powerful physical features like the rounded shoulders and expansive chests. Nevertheless, they are extremely poised. It is attained by reducing the overall proportions of the physique and smoothening the curves of the body.

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[21] Hultzsch E., "The Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala" *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, Bombay, 1986, p. 304 ff.

[22] Reproduced by courtsey of Dr. N. Goswami, Curator, Ashutosh Museum of Indian of Art.

[23] Asher Frederick : *The Art of Eastern India*, C 300-800, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1980, Plate 32.

The Asutosh Museum Lakulīśa stands somewhere between the Shahkund Narasiṁha on the one end and Sarnath Buddhas on the other. While the articulation of physical force as manifest in the Narasiṁha image is not to be found in our Lakulīśa, it does not have the poise and refinement of the Sarnath Buddha. One may compare for example, the smooth downward curve of the shoulders of Sarnath Buddhas with slightly raised shoulder of Lakulīśa which breaks its natural course. The slight bulge around the navel is a departure from Sarnath idiom. Again, the overall proportion of the body is heavier compared to the lithe Buddhas of Sarnath. And in these respects, the Lakulīśa comes close to the aforementioned Rajgir Jinas who have retained powerful physique and combined with it a sense of inner strength. There is another minor point which is indicative of its chronological precedence over the Sarnath images, the fragmentary halo is almost undecorated with shallow incised strokes along its border. Similarly, the *trivalī* mark on its neck is incised in shallow lines. Adopting what appears to be an evolutionary scheme, one reaches at the middle of the 5th century A D., as the most probable date for the Asutosh Museum Lakulīśa.

The iconography of Lakulīśa in Eastern India evolved into at least three distinct types, viz., (a) Lakulīśa shown alone (b) attended by two devotees and (c) attended by four devotees. Usuallyhe, is depicted two-handed. Admittedly, types b and c are logical elaboration of basic type 'a'. But there does not exist any co-relation between the elaboration of basic type and their chronological position, i.e. type 'b' is not necessarily earliar than type 'c'. A Lakulīśa image from Benisagar, Singhbhum district, Bihar, datable to the 7th century A.D. represents the teacher accompanied by four principal disciples each seated atop a lotus. The central figure is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* with his forearm resting on the knees along which runs a *yoga-paṭṭa*. Certain features like long ear-lobes and Buddha-like top-knot call for attention. The distinctive staff (*Lakuṭa*) rests on his left shoulder.[26] A contemporaneous figure from Mundesvari, Rohtas district, Bihar shows the Lakulīśa seated cross-legged with hands in the *vyākhyāna-mudrā*.[27] On the door lintel of Dah. Parbatiya Temple, Darrang district, Assam, datable to C 7th Century A.D. Lakulīśa appears in cross-legged posture with a kneeling devotee on the either side. There also, Lakulīśa has the Buddha-like top-knot.[28] A significant example of the late 8th early 9th century A.D. illustrates the total identification of Lakulīśa, allegedly a historical figure, with the Lord Śiva in popular consciousness. The Bodh Gaya Lintel, dated in 26th regnal year of Dharmapāla (800/801 A·D.), has the figure of Lakulīśa on the central niche the side ones being occupied by Sūrya and Viṣṇu respectively. Lakulīśa is seated on his haunches with the hands placed on the chest and the staff supported by the left shoulder. The headdress is made of regular *Jaṭābhāra* seen in the standard Śiva images.[29]

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[24] *Ibid.*, Plate 16.

[25] Harle J. C., *Gupta Sculpture*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974, Fig. 67-68.

It has been indicated earlier that some of the figures of Lakulīśa discussed above share certain features in common with the Buddha images. A class of Lakulīśa figures (type ' C '), however, comes very close to the Buddha stelai depicting the miracle of Śrāvastī. An 9th century figure from Utren-Pali, Gaya district, Bihar, currently preserved in the Gaya Museum shows the teacher seated cross-legged in *Vyākhāna-mudrā hasta* on a huge lotus from which spirngs four subsidiary lotuses accommodating on their tops the four principal disciples of Lakulīśa. In visual terms, its nearest equivalent is a śrāvasti mircale relief reproduced by R. D. Banerji.[30]

Along with the evolved iconic type, Lakulīśa image of relatively simple composition (type C) are known during the 9th century A.D. A Lakulīśa relief carved on a *chaitya* niche on the eastern *rāhāpaga* of the Śiddheśvara temple, Barakar, Burdwan district, West Bengal, represents the teacher seated in *yogāsana* with *vyākhyāna-mudrā hasta* flanked by a kneeling devotee on his either side, each holding what looks like a chowrie. Here, the staff of Lakulīśa rests on the right shoulder instead of the conventional left.[31]

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26 Sheila L. L. *Weiner*. " From Gupta to Pala Sculpture ", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXV, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1962, p. 176, Fig. 29.

27 Sinha, C. R. P., *Early Sculptures of Bihar*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1980, pp. 106-107

28 Williams Joanna. *Op. cit.*, Plate 261.

29 Banerji R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Managers of Publications, Delhi, 1926, Plate 1a.

30 Ibid. Plate XXVIII. Fig. A. See also K. C. Panigrahi, " Sculptural Representation of Lakulīśa And other Pasupata Teachers ". *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXVIII, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1960, Fig. 1.

31 Frederick Asher, *Op. cit.*, Plate 226.

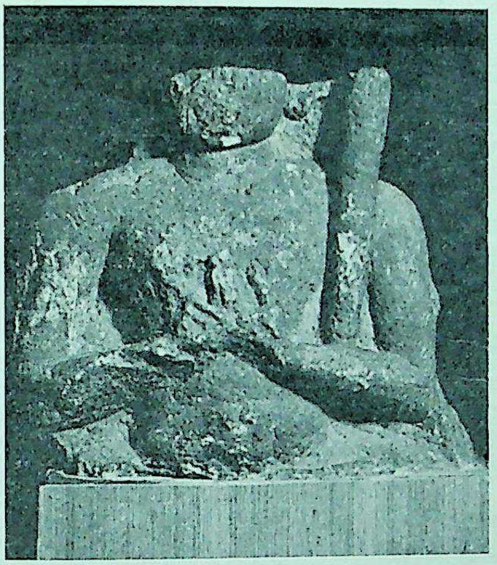

Fig. 1
Lakulīśa : Murshidabad
C. Mid 5th Cent. A.D.

Lakulīśa continued to occupy an important position in the śaivite pantheon. But the increasing impact of Tantricism probably transformed the role of Lakulīśa in Bengal. In a number of late mediaeval Tantric texts on the Śākta Pīṭhas, Lakulīśa finds mention as *Kṣetrādhiśa* or Bhairava of Kālīpīṭha/Kālapīṭha (Kalighat, Calcutta). In the texts, he is called Nakuleśa, Nakulīśā or Naleśa.[32] J. N. Banerjea refers to the worship of ‘ Nakuleśvara-Bhairava ’ at Kalighat even in the recent times.[33] The Kalighat evidence is not certainly conclusive, but it is indicative of the process by which the popular elements bring about significant changes in the religious scene of the late mediaeval Bengal.

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[32] Sircar D. C., “ Sakta Pithas ”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Latter Vol. XIV, Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1948, pp. 35-p. 2.

[33] Banerji J. N., Pañcopāsanā (in Bengali), Firma K. G. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960, p. 167.

A UNIQUE IMAGE OF UṢṬRAVĀHINĪ DEVĪ FROM MOḌHERĀ SUN TEMPLE (N. G.)

By

S. S. PAREKH*

During my exploration, survey and study of the Moḍherā Sun Temple, I was highly impressed by its rich and varied sculptural cosmos of Śaiva Vaṣṇavite, Śākta and other miscellaneous sculptures, along with some scenes from *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāgavata* and other purāṇas. Considerable images of Kṣemaṅkarī (a form of Durgā) found from this temple and its surroundings, point us the possibility for the existence of an ancient Durgā temple in the vicinity of this Sun temple.

The ancient Dharmāraṅyakṣetra, as described in *Dharmāraṇya Purāṇa* (Caste-Purāṇa of Moḍha Brāhmaṇas, Moḍha Ghāñcīs and Moḍha Vaṇikas) is known also as Cuṁvāḷa—(चुंवाळ) Pradeśa, well known as a centre of great *Śāktapīṭha*, having Śakti-temples in its surrounding areas, like temple of Mātañgī (Moḍheśvarī) at Moḍherā, temple of Bahucarājī at Bahucarājī, temple of Vyāghreśvarī at Dhiṇoja and temple of Līmbajā at Delmāḷa. With this environment and background of Śakti-worship, it is but natural that the Moḍherā Sun Temple is enriched by some remarkable images of goddesses. The *Nṛtyamaṇḍapa* (*Raṅgamaṇḍapa*) of this temple, standing on thirty-two pillars, is decorated with beautiful sculptures of Apsarās, Cāmara-nayikās, gods, goddesses and other pauraṇic scenes. These sculptures of the *Nṛtyamaṇḍapa* are remarkable and unique for their symmetrical bodies, round charming faces, grace, delicacy, curved linings, all throbbing with life. On one of the pillars of the *Nṛtyamaṇḍapa* in the South-East corner, this sculpture of the Uṣṭravāhinī Devī is represented as the second figural frieze. The two-handed goddess is seated in profile pose on the back of the camel, with reins of the walking camel in her hands. She, with braided hair, is seen looking on the left. The image can be assigned to about 1150 A.D. as it is evident that the *Nṛtyamaṇḍapa* itself was constructed after the erection of the Moḍherā Sun Temple in 1026-27.[1] (Figure : 1)

On pursuing the problem of Uṣṭravāhinī Devi, it is found that the goddess is associated with the group of Causaṭha Yoginīs, who have their relation with Pāśupata Śavism, Śākticism and Tāntricism. *Skanda Purāṇa*[2] refers to Uṣṭravāhinī Devī as Camel-necked (Uṣṭragrīvā). *Gorakha-saṁhitā*[3] records that

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* Modikhana, Shukla's Khadki, Near Sardar Bhavan, Baroda.

female-deity as Kālakarṇī with Camel as her *vāhana* and Hemādri[4] describes her as Vikṛtā Gaurī with the vehicle of a Camel. This goddess Vikṛtā is mentioned as Vikṛtā in *Kālikā Purāṇa*, composed in Āssam, in the 10th century A.D. This Uṣṭravāhinī Devī, the family-deity (*Kula-Devī*) of the Pokaraṇa Brāhmaṇas in Rājasthāna, whose origin is traditionally ascribed to Pokarṇa (Jaisalmer District), is known as Uṇṭādevī, riding a Camel.

In the exhaustive survey of sculptures and bronzes of the Uṣṭravāhinī Devī carried out by Shri V. S. Srivastava[5], her earliest extant images have been noted from Yoginī temple at Hirapur, Orissā, (8th-9th century A.D.) and from Causaṭha Yoginī temple at Bherāghāṭ, Madya Pradesa (10th century A.D.). Two stone-sculptures (12th Cent. A.D.) of this Yoginī are preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The female-deity became popular during later medieval periods and her metal sculptures are discovered in considerable number from Gujarāt, Mahārāṣṭra, Madhya Pradeśa, Rājasthān and Bengāl.

I have referred to the English translation of the Original German Book, vinry. 'Sun Temple at Moḍherā' in detail, by Wibke Lobo, but she has not been able to trace the image of Uṣṭravāhinīdevī while I could trace it and discuss the same.

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1 Dhaky, M. A., 'The Date of the Dancing Hall of the Sun Temple, Moḍherā' published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 38, 1963 (NS), p. 216.

2 *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Kāśī Khaṇḍa*, Chapter I, verses 34-42).

3 Pande, Janārdan (edited by), *Gorakṣa Saṁhitā*, published as No. 130 in *Sarasvatī Bhavan Granthamālā*, Vārāṇasī, 1976.

4 Hemādri, *Vratkhaṇḍa*, Chapter 1, Verse 54 :

उष्ट्रास्था विकृता गौरी भयकृद्विकृतानना ।
तूणञ्च डमरूं याम्ये सौम्ये खड्गाङ्कमस्तकम् ॥

5 Srivastava, Vijai Shankar : *Cultural Contours of India*, (Dr. Satya Prakash Felicitation Volume), Abhinav Publications, Delhi, 1981.

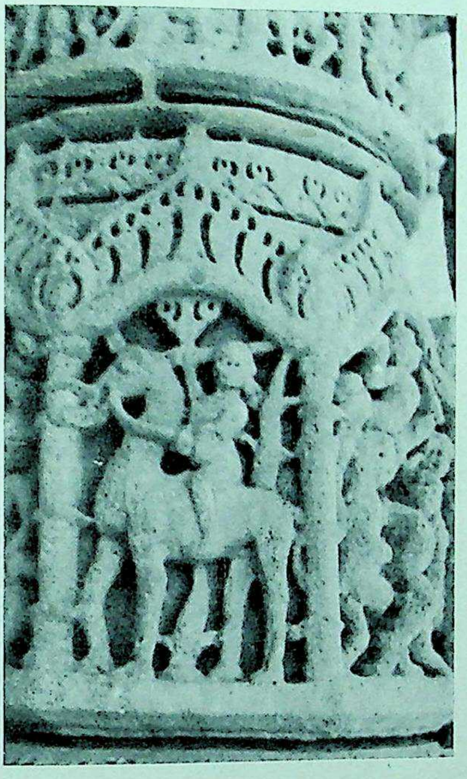

Fig. 1
Uṣṭravāhinī devī
Sun Temple, Modhera C. 1150 A.D.

KŪRMA (TORTOISE) IN LITERATURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By

MRS. MEERA AROLE*

In the Pre-Vedic period the poetic temperament of a man must have been stirred by some of the grand aspects of nature, and he offered worship unto them with awe and reverence. Not only these were duly personified and venerated by him, but also various abstract principles were raised by him to a similar august position and respected. Such deities like Sūrya, Uṣas, Agni etc. for example, were intimately connected with their natural bases. Besides, animals and birds also play an important part in the Pre-Vedic and Vedic religion and mythology, and they hold divine position and supernatural powers.

It will be interesting to know how the tortoise was endowed with divine qualities in the Vedic period and how gradually it became a deity in the later period. The literary data is corroborated by the archaeological evidence.

Identification of tortoise with Prajāpati, Varuṇa and the Sun etc.

Prajāpati holds the highest position in the Vedic mythology. It is said that Prajāpati, the Creator, assumed the form of a tortoise to produce all creatures, and all creatures are said to have descended from the tortoise. (Śat. Br. 7.5.1.5). Here it is remarked that, as *Kūrma* (tortoise) is identical with Kaśyapa, " therefore men say all beings are the children of the tortoise (Kaśyapa) ".

This identification of a tortoise with the Prajāpati is again stated in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (1.23.3). Here in a dialogue between the Primordial Puruṣa and Prajāpati, the Creator, it is said that this Puruṣa appeared in waters in the form of a tortoise out of the bones and flesh of Prajāpati.

Thus the idea of the creation of the whole universe is connected with the tortoise i.e. *Kūrma.*

In *Vāj. Saṁ.* (13.31) it is stated that the tortoise belonged to Varuṇa, the lord of waters.

The tortoise is identified with the yonder Sun in *Śat Br.* (7.5.1.6). It is said that the Sun creeps over the three worlds in the form of a tortoise. In the *Caturbhāṇī*, the slow setting of the Sun is compared to the movement of the tortoise.[1]

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[1] Agrawal, V. S. and Moticandra (ed) *Śṛṅgārahāṭa*, Bombay, 1959. p. 119 "हैमः कूर्म इवावसीदति शनैः संक्षिप्तपादो रविः"

It is possible that the disc like shell of the tortoise, its slow movement and the act of withdrawing within its shell, may have inspired the poets to compare it or to identify it with the Sun.

One finds in the *Atharva Veda* (XVII, 1.28) that the term Kaśyapa definitely connotes the Sun.

The tortoise is regarded as a symbol of the three worlds. The lower shell of it is this (terrestrial) world, the upper shell of it the yonder sky, and what is between (the shells) is the atmosphere (*Śat. Br*. 7.5.1.2).

The tortoise is also said to be the life (*prāṇa*), for it creates all creatures (*Śat. Br*. 7.5.1.7), while in another place in the *Śat. Br*. (6.1.1.12) the life sap (*rasa*) is identified with the tortoise. In *Tai. Saṁ*. (5.2.8.5) the tortoise is said to be the *Medhā* " life-sap " of the animals.

Importance of the tortoise in the Various sacrifices

A sacrifice became the aim for acquiring heaven; in the Brāhmaṇa period, it became more complicated, and much importance was given to minor details in the sacrifices. For instance, the construction of the fire-altar, shape of the bricks and various *mantra*s which were chanted at every moment were emphasized than the actual sacrifice.

In the *Baudh Sūkta* (9.1) it is stated that one who wishes to conquer the world of Brahman should construct the fire-altar in the shape of a tortoise.

In the *Ait. Br*. (6.6) one finds references to animal sacrifice. Here it is stated that in the animal sacrifice the parts of the victim are cut off in such a manner as to make either some animals or some other objects. For instance, the text says, " Make its (victim's) breast an eagle, its two front legs hatchests, its two fore feet spikes, its shoulders two tortoises etc. "

In the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, a number of animals are tied to sacrificial posts. These animals are dedicated to various deities. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ* (3.14.15) states that the tortoise is one of the animals tied to the sacrificial posts and it is associated with the deities Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāpṛthvī*).

In *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (1.9) it is stated that the *Adhvaryu* should give the shape of a tortoise to the sacrificial cake i.e. *puroḍāśa*, while it is being flattened.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (12.15.4 ff) also there is a story in which a father asked his son to fetch a turtle (*kacchapa*) for sacrifice.

In the *Agnicayana* rite a living tortoise is placed with its face to the east, on the 'avakā' plants. The tortoise is anointed with a mixture of ghee, honey, and curds, is enveloped in moss covered with a net and made motionless by means of pegs (*Āp*. XVII. 25.2; *Śat. Br*. XI.7.42) when depositing the tortoise it is invoked with three verses (*Vāj Saṁ* XIII. 30-32) which express the wish that the tortoise may go to the deep waters, that the sun and fire may not torment it by heat, that it may reach heavenly worlds and that divine rain may follow; it is also conceived as the knower of the path to heaven.

Archaeological Evidence

The importance of tortoise in the sacrifices is corroborated by the evidence found in the excavation at Kauśāmbi. Here the excavations have brought to light an altar in the form of a flying bird (*Śyena*). This is precisely the way in which the *Śyenaciti*, the principal type of the *Agniciti*, consisting of a head, a body (middle part), two wings and a tail is piled up.

Here the archaeological evidence reveals that the bricks were specially piled up on the altar according to certain rules. In the ritual texts, there are elaborate rules for piling the bricks.

The presence of *ukhā* (fire-pan or offering stand), which was the head of the sacrifice in the texts, is also noteworthy.

It is significant to note that the *ukhā*, with its archetype in the chalcolithic dish-on-stand, is entirely unknown to the ceramic tradition of the *Gangetic* Valley in the *third-first* century B.C. It was surviving at that time only in the ritual tradition and throws valuable light on the cultural synthesis achieved in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta Sūtras.

The shell of a tortoise has been found to the east of *Ukhā*. The texts lay down that a live tortoise should be placed to the east of the *Ukhā* so that the altar may not be turned into a *Smaśānaciti*. The presence of the tortoise shell thus conclusively proves that it is a fire-altar (*Śyenaciti*) and not otherwise.[2]

Tortoise in the Epic and Purāṇic Period

Viṣṇu is regarded as the most influential member of the later Brahmanical triad. His gradual rise to importance in the late Vedic period, however, was primarily due to his having been identified with sacrifice. (*Śat. Br.* XIV. 1.1)

The theory of incarnation for which Viṣṇu became popular is known right from the time of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. There Prajāpati is conceived of as a god assuming different incarnations of the redemption of the world in one way or the other. Prajāpati is supposed to have taken the Fish. (*Matsya*), the Tortoise (*Kūrma*) and the Boar (*Varāha*) incarnations. Later on, these were attributed to Viṣṇu. In the *Bhagvad-Gītā* itself the Lord Kṛṣṇa assures Arjuna that he assumes incarnations whenever there is need for it.

The tortoise (*Kūrma*) is considered the second of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The famous legend of the churning of the milk-sea by the gods and demons seems to belong to the post-vedic period. In the legend, it is stated that the Lord Viṣṇu consented to support the mountain Mandara on his back, after having assumed the shape of a tortoise.

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[2] Sharma, G. R. *Excavations at Kauśāmbi* 1957-59) Allahabad, 1960, p. 35, 123.

Tortoise and Puṁsavana rite

In the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (1.14.5) it is stated that a husband should put gall of a tortoise on her (wife's) lap in the *Puṁsavana* rite. It seems that the gall of the tortoise might have been used as a symbol of sturdyness.

Images of Tortoise

According to the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and *Agni Purāṇa* the image of *Kūrma* is to be made exactly in the form of a tortoise.

Generally, *Matsya* and *Kūrma* incarnations are represented in two ways, either in purely theriomorphic manner or as hybrid forms in which the upper half is of human and the lower half of animal. In the purely theriomorphic forms *Vaiṣṇava* emblems are absent, while in the hybrid forms the human part (upper) invariably holds the usual attributes in the four hands.

According to *Śrī Tattvanidhī*, *Kūrma* should be of golden colour holding in two hands the disc and the conch and the other hands should be held in *abhaya* and *varada mudrā*. He should be adorned with *Pītāmbara* and ornaments.[3]

Sāttvata Saṁhitā and the *Meru-tantra* also describe the image of *Kūrma* holding the conch, the disc, the mace and the plough.[4] Images corresponding to these *dhyānas* have not come to light so far.

Daniel Smith, while describing *Kūrma* images, states that the favoured colour of the *Kūrma* image seems to be black, although, it is permisible to show it as golden colour. The figure may be surrounded either by a halo or it may be depicted as within the disc of the moon. *Kūrma* may also be shown with the *svastika* sign and displaying the *Kūrma mudrā*. It may be shown with one eye, with two or three eyes. *Kūrma* may be displayed with Śrī and Bhūmi or with Śrī and Puṣṭi.[5]

Generally *Kūrma* is depicted in the *Daśāvatāra* panel in the form of a tortoise. An independent incarnation of *Kūrma* in tortoise form is mostly associated with the myth of the churning of milk sea.

Such type of image is noticed at Garhwa Fort (Allahabad). Here, the *Kūrma* is depicted in the tortoise form, and the gods and demons are churning stick placed on his back.[6]

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[3] Desai, Kalpana, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, Delhi, 1973, p. 68.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Smith, Daniel, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, Madras, 1969, p. 127.

[6] Singh, S. B. *Brahmanical Icons in Northern India*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 70.

Some scene is also illustrated in the Gwalior Fort.[7]

Again, another interesting image of the *Kūrma* incarnation is found in the collection of the Bharat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras. Here it is depicted with a well rounded shell and a rather long neck is placed on a pedestal. A striking feature of this image is the presence of a small four-handed figure of Viṣṇu holding his usual emblems on the neck of the tortoise. The right leg of the deity is firmly planted and the left leg is folded. It is possible that the image was used in worship.[8]

The *Kurmāvatāra* is represented in a different manner in the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho. Here, Lord Viṣṇu is seated on a tortoise in *yogāsana* with his two lower hands in the *yoga mudrā*, and the other two holding the disc and the mace.[9]

Another interesting image at Khajuraho is that of Viśvarūpa. Here, Lord Viṣṇu is depicted with three faces and is standing in a *tribhaṅga* posture. The central face is of a man. The left face is of Varāha and the right face is of Narasiṁha. The Matsya and Kūrma are depicted behind the faces of Narasiṁha and Varāha.[10]

An image of *Kūrma* depicted independently, is found in the Central Museum, at Nagpur, Maharashtra. The tortoise is carved here, in a beautiful stone (शाळुंका). The emblems of Viṣṇu viz. conch, lotus, disc and mace are seen at the four feet of the tortoise. It seems that a channel is specially made for the holy water of *abhiṣeka*. Therefore, it is possible that the image might have been used in worship.[11]

Temple of Kūrma

The temples of *Kūrma* are rarely found. But, at Kūrmācala or Śrīkūrmam, the temple of *Kūrma* is found. Here, the image of *Kūrma* in stone, is carved in a tortoise form. To one side of it stands Bhūdevī while to the other side one finds Śrīdevī. An image of Govindarāja also stands nearby.[12]

Kūrmaśilā

In the central hall (*Sabhā Maṇḍapa*) of a temple, a tortoise carved out of stone is placed which is known as *Kūrmaśilā*. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* gives a detailed description of *Kūrmaśilā.*[13] It is believed that the temple remains intact for several years and it also increases the fame of the king.

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[7] Khare, G. H. *Mūrti Vijñāna* (Marathi) Poona, 1939, p. 49.

[8] Desai, Kalpana, op. cit; p. 68.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] अवस्थी, रामाश्रय, खजुराहो की देव प्रतिमाएँ, आग्रा, १९६७, खंड–१, पृ. १४०.

[11] Deglurkar, G. B.; *Yugavāṇī*, year 36, vol. 5-8 Aug, Nov. 1980, pp. 157-160.

[12] भारतीय संस्कृती कोश, खं. २, पृ. ४५५

Kūrmacakra

In the *Rudrayāmalatantra* a *Kūrmacakra* is mentioned. It should be placed under the seat (*āsana*) at the time of chanting *mantra*s. The *cakras* are also mentioned which are useful for agricultural purposes or for the sacrifices.

Kūrmāsana

A description of the wooden seat known as *Kūrmāsana* is given in the Tamil work called '*Śaivasamaya-neri*'. The timber used for making this seat is the " iluppai " " Karungali " (ebony) or " bilva ". This *Kūrmāsana* must have the oval shape proper for a mirror. The height of it has to be four *aṅgula*s, its breadth twelve *aṅgula*s, and it should be provided with the face and feet of a tortoise, these latter being one *muṣṭi* or seven *aṅgula*s in girth.[14]

Kūrma as a Vehicle

The river goddess Yamunā and the goddess Earth, both have the *Kūrma* as their vehicle in the sculpture from the Dacca Museum.[15]

The tortoise is shown as a vehicle of Mahākālī of the Digaṁbara sect of Jainism.[16] It is also considered as a vehicle of Yakṣa.

Inscriptional Evidence

An inscription from Dhar, datable to the early 13th c. contains two odes in the *Āryā* metre to the *Kūrma* incarnation of Viṣṇu. One of which was composed by king Bhoja of Malwa, who reighed in the 11th century.[17]

Totem

It is possible that the *Kūrma* was a totem of the Bharatas in the earliest time.[18]

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[13] स्फटितरजतवर्णो नीलराजीविचित्रः
कलशसदृशमूर्तिश्चारुवंशश्च कूर्मः ।
अरुणसमवपुर्वा सर्षपाकारचित्रः
सकलनृपमहत्वं मन्दिरस्थः करोति (अ. ६४)

[14] Rao T. A. Gopinatha, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi, 1971, Vol. I.I. p. 17, 18, 20.

[15] Bhattasali, N. K. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 115.

[16] Khan, M. S. *Brahmā in the Purāṇas*, Delhi, 1981, p. 89.

[17] Desai, op. at. p. 69.

[18] Hopkins, E. W. *Epic Mythology*, Delhi, 1968, p. 29.

The Zunis have the turtle as one of their totems. The turtle is an important Iroquois totem. It is a totem of the Mundari Kols, and is also worshipped and sacrificed elsewhere in India.[19]

The Kharwars and Manjhis of Mirzapur worship clay images of tortoise. Archaeologically, it is an interesting point that a clay tortoise found from Basarh of the Gupta period is mentioned by D. B. Spooner.[20] It might have been worshipped for the same purpose.

The Goṇḍas believe that their ancestor Lingo was saved by the tortoise from the clutches of the alligator.[21] Therefore, it seems that the tortoise is worshipped in order to get rid of calamities.

In North India the Kacchis and the Kacchawaha Rajputs allege that they take their names from the *Kacchapa* or tortoise, similarly Kūrmis also refer their name to *Kūrma*.[22]

Economic Values

The tortoise shell was brought from Far East to Rome by way of Egypt, and it was sought by Romans as a veneer for their rich furniture. Now it is used in the buhl furniture (inlaying of cabinet work) and also in combination with silver for toilet articles. It is worked up into minor articles like combs, snuff-boxes, frames, knife handles[23] etc.

In the Torres Strait, the arm-bands are made about 8 inches wide and with incised bands of ornamentation, typical of the north eastern areas.[24]

On some islands of Torres Strait, which lies between New Guinea and Australia, masks were made of turtle-shell, which were generally used in harvest fertility ceremonies and in funerary rites.[25]

Superstitions

There are certain superstitions connected with tortoise and turtle-fishing.

Toads made of wax, iron, silver and wood are to be found to this day as votive offerings to the virgin Mary in Churches in Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Moravia and Yogoslavia.

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[19] Patyal, H. C. " Tortoise in the Vedic mythology and ritual ", *BDCRI*, Vol. 38, Nos. 1-4, 1978-79, p. 108-109.

[20] Desai, op. cit., p. 67.

[21] Patyal, op. cit., p. 109.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 22, p. 310.

[24] *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. 9, p. 704.

[25] *Ibid*, p. 558.

They were intended as a protection against barrenness and to ensure safe pregnancy.[26]

In China the tortoise is regarded as a symbol of long life.

Tortoise is also connected with the gods and goddesses of fertility and love.

On the contrary, in the Zorastrianism, the tortoise was considered an evil creature and consequently was to be killed.[27]

Many magical ceremonies were performed in the islands of Torres Straits to prepare a canoe for turtle-fishing, chiefly of a sexual character, turtle dances were also performed to ensure success in the fishing.

Turtle-fishing is an occupation surrounded by many tabus. In Madagascar, the fisher had to eat the turtle on the shore, and the shell had to be left there too, it might not be used. All the village took part in the turtle feast, and it was not allowable to eat other food with it. If these tabus are not observed, the turtles leave the shore.[28]

The Zunis send to fetch turtles with great ceremony.. The day after it arrives the turtle is killed, its flesh and bones deposited in the little river, and its shell made into a dance rattle. Frazer suggests that the dead are fetched in the form of turtles and sent back to spirit-land; it seems very probable that the turtle is killed in order that it may be a messenger.[29]

In Indian context also we find that in the sacrifices, the tortoise is supposed to be the messenger.

Conclusion

The tortoise is equated with Prajāpati in the Vedic times. Later on during the passage of time it became an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The sacrificial importance of tortoise is proved literally which is corroborated by the archaeological evidence revealed by the Kauśāmbī excavations. So far as the iconography of *Kūrma* is concerned it is depicted in the *Daśāvatāra* panel with other incarnations of Viṣṇu. Indepedent images of *Kūrma* have also been found. It was worshipped by certain tribes as a totem and also for several other reasons.

So far as the economic values of the tortoise shell are concerned, it is precious and useful, for making toilet articles, masks, etc.

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[26] Gimbutas, Marija, *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe, 7000 to 35000 B.C.*, London. 1974, p. 177

[27] Hastings, James, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1908-21, Vol. I, p. 530.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

Regarding superstitions and tabus of tortoise certain beliefs and conceptions are found all over the world, for example, it is connected with fertility, long-life etc.

It is interesting to note that in the sacrificial context, the tortoise is regarded as messenger and Frazer too suggests that the turtle is killed because it is a messenger. It is strongly corroborated by Sharma at the Kauśāmbī excavation.

SOME ASPECTS OF PERSONAL NAMES IN THE VĀKĀṬAKA INSCRIPTIONS

By

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI*

The Vākāṭakas ruled over the Vidarbha and Marathwada regions of the Maharashtra State and the neighbouring areas of Madhya Pradesh for well over two centuries from the second half of the third to about the end of the fifth century AD, and their influence was spread over a much wider region of northern India and the eastern as well as western Deccan. We have fairly numerous records of this dynasty, but most of them belong to the fifth century AD. They are mostly copper-plate charters recording grants of villages or plots of land in favour of Brāhmaṇas, stone inscriptions being comparatively very few. Being donative in nature, they naturally contain large number of personal and place-names and thereby afford us a good deal of material for ascertaining the patterns of naming individuals and localities in the region and period in question. Though the inscriptions themselves belong, by and large, to the fifth century alone, it may be reasonably assumed that similar practices must have been current in slightly earlier and later periods as well. The present paper aims at highlighting some important aspects of personal names met with in these inscriptions and the light they shed on contemporary life.

We may first take up royal names. With the solitary exception of the first member (and obviously founder) of the family, *viz.*, Vindhyaśakti,[1] all the Vākāṭaka monarchs of both the known branches (Nandivardhana-Pravarapura and Vatsagulma) bore *sena*-ending names like Pravarasena, Rudrasena, Pṛthivīṣeṇa, Narendrasena, Sarvasena, Devasena and Hariṣeṇa. This stereotyped pattern of names makes one suspicious as to whether these were really personal names bestowed on them by their parents after their birth or they represent names deliberately assumed by them after-wards. There is sufficient literary evidence to indicate that in ancient India the practice of adopting more than one names was quite popular.[2] But whether such a practice obtained among the Vākāṭakas

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[1] His namesake Vindhyaśakti of the Vatsagulma branch of the family and donor of the Basim plates was also known as Vindhyasena.

[2] Kane, P. V. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, ii, pp. 240ff. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of as many as four names being given to an individual.

cannot be ascertained for want of necessary evidence. In the Riddhapur,[3] and the recently discovered Miregaon[4] grants the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā is described as *Mahārāja-Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-Jananī, viz.*, mother of *Mahārāja* Dāmodarasena Pravarasena. According to Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena were one and the same personages, Dāmodarasena being his original name and Pravarasena the name taken by him on the occasion of his coronation.[5] If this position were to be accepted, it would follow that the practice of assuming a new name at the time of coronation was in vogue among the Vākāṭakas. However, an important piece of evidence brought to light recently goes against this supposition. While the seal attached to the Riddhapur plates is missing the metrical inscription on the seal of the Miregaon plates speaks of Prabhāvatīguptā as the mother of two Vākāṭaka monarchs.[6] We know from the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā that her son Divākarasena was the *yuvarāja* or crown-prince for a period of at least thirteen years during which she had to look after the administration of the kingdom, and there is no evidence available to show that he ever ascended the throne. Therefore, we are left with no alternative but to treat Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena as the names of two different persons who came to throne one after the other, the regal title *mahārāja* being applicable to both of them. However, if there is any evidence for the assumption of coronation names by the Vākāṭakas, it may probably be afforded by the names of the first two members of the dynasty. Vindhyaśakti (I) is mentioned as such both in the Purāṇas and in the records of the reign of the last known member of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty *i.e.*, Hariṣeṇa. But, so far as the name of his son and successor is concerned, it is mentioned as Pravīra in the Purāṇas[7] and as Pravarasena in the numerous records of his descendants belonging to both the branches. If the difference between these two names be of any significance, it is not impossible that he (Pravīra *alias* Pravarasena I) consciously initiated the practice of taking *sena*-ending names at the time of coronation. Attention may in this connection be invited to certain names appearing in Vākāṭaka inscription with reference to land-grants. These names include Śatrughnarāja and his son Koṇḍarāja,[8] Nārāyaṇarāja,[9] Pṛthivīrāja,[10] Narindarāja (or Narendrarāja),[11]

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[3] *CII*, v, p. 36 text-line 10.

[4] This record is yet to be published.

[5] *CII*, V, p. xxiv. Also see pp. 35 and 39 (in the translation of the relevant passage we meet with the expression ' Dāmodarasena (*alias*) Pravarasena '.

[6] *Satputrayor=jananyās=tu Vākāṭaka-narendrayoh |*
Śrī-Prabhāvati (tī) guptāyāḥ śāsanaṁ ripu-śāsanaṁ ||

[7] Pargiter, F. E. *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. p. 50.

[8] Chammak pls. of Pravarasena II (*CII*, v. p. 24, text-line 19) : the grant was made at the request of Koṇḍarāja.

(Cond. on p. 259)

and Gomikarāja.[12] The *rāja*—ending should leave no doubt about their princely association and the fact that grants of land or villages are often said to have been made by or at the request or with the permission of these personages may perhaps indicate that they were Vākāṭaka princes. Particular significance in this connection attaches to the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasena II which earmark one-third of the merit accruing from the grant recorded therein for Ājñākabhaṭṭārikā, mother of Narindarāja. Unfortunately, no further information about Narindarāja or his mother has been given. But, as Pravarasena II is known to have been succeeded by Narendrasena, it is not impossible that the latter was known as Narindarāja or Narendrarāja before his accession, though no definite conclusion in this matter can be reached in the absence of necessary data. It is quite likely therefore that some of these princes may have later ascended the throne and assumed *sena*—ending names. It is interesting to note in this connection that the practice of adopting coronation names is known to early Indian literary tradition and was prevalent in the neighbouring Kosalā or Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining area of Orissa where most of the chiefs of Śarabhapura and Pāṇḍuvaṁśa had names beginning with the word *mahut* and the later members of the latter dynasty added *gupta* at the end in addition to *mahat* at the beginning. This practice was continued with some modification by the members of the Somakula who assumed alternately the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta. These names were undoubtedly taken by them at the time of their accession as their records show that they had, in addition, personal names which were different from these names.[13]

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[9] Pattan pls. of Pravarasena II (*ibid.*, p. 60, text-line 23) : a piece of land was given at his request.

[10] Pāṇḍhurṇā pls. of Pravarasena II (*ibid.*, p. 66, text-line 19) : it registers a grant made by Pravarasena II in place of the original grant made by Pṛithivīrāja.

[11] Māṇḍhaḷ pls. of Pravarasena II (*Vidarbha Samśodhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārṣika*, 1977, p. 155, text-lines 22-23) : one-third of the merit of the grant was intended to accrue to Narindarāja's mother Ājñākabhaṭṭārikā.

[12] Thālner pls. of Hariṣeṇa (V. V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, p. 86, text-line 9) : literally the grant was made with the permission or consent of Gomikarāja, but in all probability the word *anujñātam* is erroneously employed instead of *vijñaptyā*. Alternatively Gomikarāja may have been an elderly member of the family and the word *anujñāta* has been used by way of courtesy.

[13] Generally speaking, coronation names are mentioned in the formal *praśasti* portion while the personal names are given towards the end of the records. Personal names included Janamejaya, Yayāti, Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha, Uddyotakesarin etc.

The Sātavāhanas, who preceded the Vākāṭakas in their rule over the Deccan, and the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa) in Andhra Pradesh, who were the contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas further south, had the practice of assuming matronymics like Gautamīputra, Vāsiṣṭhīputra and Māḍharīputra. It is difficult to ascertain the degree of popularity of this practice among the Vākāṭakas. But that the practice had not altogether died out is evidenced by the fact that the son of Pravarasena I is referred to in all the official records of the Nandivardhana branch simply as Gautamīputra without mentioning his personal name. It is not impossible that other members of the family also took matronymics though they are conspicuously absent in their records.[14]

Another important point which deserves to be noted is the *repetition of names within the same family*. We thus find the names Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena, Pṛthivīṣeṇa. Rudrasena and Sarvasena repeated twice. In one case we find the grandfather and the grandson bearing the same name, *viz.*, Rudrasena I and Rudrasena II, whereas in other cases we don't find the same relationship between the bearers of identical names. We shall not be far wrong if we conclude from the evidence at our disposal that the practice of the descendants, more particularly the grandson, being named after the forefathers, especially the grandfather, which was first introduced in India by the foreigners in the pre-Christian centuries,[15] was becoming popular in the Deccan during the period under consideration, though it took some more time to have the practice of naming the grandson after the grandfather firmly established. This practice is now quite popular in Maharashtra and some other parts of the Deccan.

The Dharmaśāstra texts prescribe the adoption of *śarman*-ending names by the Brāhmaṇas, and some of our inscriptions indicate that this practice had become popular to a certain extent. Many of the Brāhmaṇa donees had the *upapada śarman* attached to their names. Thus, we come across names like Revatīśarman, Maghaśarma, Mūlaśarman, Somaśarman, Guhaśarman, Kumāraśarman etc. But in a majority of cases this *upapada* is not found attached to the names of the beneficiaries of land-grants. In a few cases we find the ending *varman* appended to the names of *senāpatis* (or army commanders[16]) who were entrusted with important responsibilities in connection with the execution of the land-grants. It is quite possible that these commanders belonged to the Kṣatriya class and the employment of the *upapada varman* was in keeping with the textual formula. But as in the case of the Brāhmaṇa donees, the name—ending *varman* is conspicuously absent in the case of the names of a majority of the *senāpatis*. It would thus follow that the practice of adding the *upapadas* indicating caste distinctions had not yet become firmly rooted.

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[14] In the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II and the Thālner plates of Hariṣeṇa the matronymic Hāritīputra is found employed for Pravarasena I. (V. V. Mirashi, *CII*. v. p. 96, text-line 3; *Indological Research Papers*, p. 86, text-line 5) but there it has lost the sense of a matronymic. See *CII*. v. p. 98, fn, 12.

[15] This practice was fairly common among the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians Indo-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas as well as among the Western Kṣatrapas. On the other hand we have no such instances among the early Indian ruling families like the Haryaṅkas, Śaiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, and Kāṇvas.

[16] *E.g.*, Nāgavarman and Citravarman

We have numerous examples of names at the end of which the word *ārya* was appended. As examples we may mention Somārya, Maghārya, Jyeṣṭhārya, Bhādrilārya, Revatyārya, Maheśvarārya, Rudrārya, Skandārya, Kumārārya, etc. The Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II provide numerous instances of the Brāhmaṇas at the end of whose names the Prakrit form of this word, *viz.*, *ajja*, has been added.[17] This is the original of the honorific *jī* which is commonly used at the end of names (or surnames) throughout North India and comparatively sparingly in Maharashtra. In our grants all these names appertain Brāhmaṇas. It may, however, be justifiably conjectured that this practice was in vogue among other sections of the society as well.

Religion played a very important role in determining the nature of names. We find that a vast majority of the names found in our records have the names of gods and goddesses as the first part or *pūrvapada*. They not only indicate the religious affiliation of the bearers of these names or of the persons who gave them these names (generally speaking, parents or other elderly members of the family) but also evidence the popularity of the cults centring round them. Among them the most preponderant are, of course, Śiva[18] and Viṣṇu,[19] and a large number of names are formed with a variety of their names forming the first part. Among the male members of Śiva's family (or Śaiva pantheon), Skanda seems to have enjoyed great popularity as will be evident from a fairly large number of names with Kumāra,[20] Guha,[21] Svāmin[22] and Skanda[23] as one of their components. It is noteworthy that we have not even a single name referring to the elephant-headed god Gaṇapati which is enough to prove that he was yet to attain importance to find a place in personal names. As for Viṣṇu, the names

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[17] *CII*, v, p. 97.

[18] *E.g.*, Maheśvarārya, Rudrārya, Rudraśarman, Īśvaraśarman, Īśvarārya, Rudraśarmārya, Īśvaradatta, Śivārya and Bhavasvāmin.

[19] Hariśarman, Nārāyaṇarāja, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇvārya.

[20] Kumāraśarman, Kumāraśarmārya and Kumārārya.

[21] Guhaśarman.

[22] Svāmidevārya.

[23] Skandārya.

Varāhasvāmin[24] and Varāhadeva[25] seem to point to the overriding popularity of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu during the Gupta-Vākāṭaka age, a fact supported by contemporary sculptural and epigraphic evidence. Even though the worship of other incarnations also might have come into existence, we have not even one name formed after them. As for the goddesses, there are several names formed after the Mātṛs or Mother Goddesses,[26] while we have only two names after the goddesses Kālī[27] and one each after the goddesses Durgā[28] and Śrī or Lakṣmī.[29] The statistical evidence leads us to the conclusion that Śaivism was more popular than Vaiṣṇavism, and the comparative rarity of names formed after the goddesses apparently indicates that the female divinities were much less popular than male deities. We have just one name, Yakṣārya, which speaks of the lingering Yakṣa cult which had enjoyed great popularity during a few centuries prior to and after Christ.

Our records provide sufficient evidence to indicate the popularity of the *svāmin*-ending names.[30] That these names were particularly popular among and almost typical of the votaries of the Bhāgavata religion is vouched for by some of our records. The Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, for example, record a donation in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Canālasvāmin who is styled *Bhagavad-bhakta*, 'a votary of Bhagavat', *i.e.*, Viṣṇu. It is interesting to note this connection that this grant was made on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Kārttika, evidently on the occasion of the *pāraṇā* or breaking the fast observed on the previous *tithi* which was regarded as specially sacred by the Bhāgavatas as it marked the awakening of Viṣṇu after his four-month long sleep. It is also noteworthy that the donated village was first made over to the feet of god Viṣṇu. Attention may also be invited to the fact that the Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu at whose behest the grant recorded in the recently discovered, Māṇḍhal plates of Rudrasena II is stated to have been made was also known as Mondasvāmin, *svāmin*-ending names being popularly given to Vaiṣṇava images or shrines.

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[24] *CII*, v, p. 109, verse 30.

[25] Mirashi, V. V. *Indological Research Papers*, p, 86, text-line 12.

[26] Mātrārya, Mātṛśarman, Mātṛśarmārya and Mātṛsvāmin.

[27] Kāliśarman and Kālidāsa.

[28] Durgāryya. But one cannot be quite certain about this point as the name may also allude, though less possibly, to a fort/forts.

[29] Śryārya.

[30] Canālasvāmin, Sūryasvāmin, Devanandasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Bhavasvāmin, Devasvāmin, Gaṅgasvāmin, Varāhasvāmin, Bhaṭṭārasvāmin, Dharasvāmin, Khūdasvāmin, Mātṛsvāmin, Droṇasvāmin, Agnisvāmin, Maheśvarasvāmin, Brahmasvāmin, Harasvāmin Varāhasvāmin.

[31] *CII*, v, p. 7.

While *svamin*-ending names were undoubtedly most popular among the Bhāgavatas, we come across a few instances of the appending of the *svamin* terminal to the names Maheśvara, Bhava and Hara which bespeaks of religious aclecticism which characterised ancient India.

That religious and often sectarian considerations did underlie personal names which are consequently of enormous significance for the religious history of India is vouched for by the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasena II which record a land-grant for maintaining a *sattra* or a free feeding house attached to a temple of Mahāpuruṣa or Viṣṇu at the request of a certain Nārāyaṇarāja.

It is noteworthy in this connection that till recently most of the personal names in Maharashtra were either names of divinities themselves or were derived therefrom. In recent times the trend has undergone a drastic change, and we have comparatively fewer names formed after gods and goddesses. This practice evidently goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era.

The personal names with the names of the *nakṣatras* forming the first part had been in vogue in India from very early times and are prescribed in the Dharmaśāstra texts. Our inscriptions which mention names like Maghaśarman, Revatīśarman, Mūlaśarman, Maghārya, Revatīśarmārya, Jyeṣthaśarmārya, Svātiśarmārya, Viśākhārya, Jyeṣṭhārya, Bhādrilārya and Revatyārya vouch for the continuing popularity of such names during the Vākāṭaka period. We have also a few examples of names based on the planets such as Somārya, Somaśarman, Candra, Candrārya and Ravidatta.

Personal names based on those of epic heroes such as Droṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa are also met with and are indicative of the popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Some of the epigraphs, particularly the Māṇḍhaḷ plates of Pravarasena II and Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, afford some evidence to indicate that the practice of adopting some name-endings hereditarily in a family was becoming popular though it had yet to establish itself on a firm footing. The *sena*-ending in the names of the Vākāṭaka monarchs also points in the same direction. Unfortunately, Vākāṭaka inscriptions generally refer only to the donees and furnish no information about their ancestors as we find in later inscriptions. Otherwise, we would have had more information on this point.

Before we conclude our discussion on personal names, reference may be made to a very important evidence. The Chammak plates of Pravarasena II register a grant in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Goṇḍārya. The Goṇḍs even now constitute an important section of the tribal population of Vidarbha and the adjacent region of Madhya Pradesh. This name vouches for not only the existence of the Goṇḍs as an important element of the then population of this area but also the assimilation of the Goṇḍ elements into the Brahmanical society to such an extent as to induce the Brāhmaṇas to bear names formed after them. This, like several dictums found in the *Manusmṛti* in connection with the formation of the mixed castes, is symbolic of the elasticity of the contemporary Brahmanical society. The same is true of another name, Nāgaśarman, which is indicative of the Nāga element in the contemporary society. We also have in the Pāṇḍhurṇā plates of Pravarasen II the name Bhojārya which is formed after the Bhojas who were the traditional people of Vidarbha.

It will thus be seen from this brief survey that the study of personal names is of absorbing interest to students of early Indian History and Culture.

THE ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF GUILDS IN SOUTH INDIA

By

P. CHENNA REDDY*

The guild was predominatingly an economic institution. It was a free and voluntary association of individuals earning their livelihood by the same means or by the same kind of labour. In other words sameness of occupation and free choice of membership were the hall marks of a guild. It is referred to in the ancient literary works by several terms such as *kula*, *śreṇi*, *puga*, *jāti*, *saṁgha*, *samudāya*, *samūha*, *pariṣat*, *sambhūya-sannuthāna*, *varga*, *sārtha*, *naigama*, etc.[1] In the epigraphs of South India it is referred to by several terms like, *bañajigas bañanjigas*, *valañjiyar*, *nānādēśi*, *ubhaya-nānādēsi*, *nagara*, *vaiśya*, *vanīyanagarattār*, *taṇḍa*, *mummūritaṇḍa*, *samastha-nakhara-mummūri-taṇḍa*, *śeṭṭis*, *śeṭṭiguttas*, *nakharamu*, *pekkaṇḍru*, *komaṭis*, *kāṁpulu*, *chitramēḷi*, *ayyavāḷi-five-hundred*, *maṇigrāmam*, *pāñchānamvāru*, *vīra-balañjas*, *ainnūruvār*, *nānādēśi- tesaiyāyirattu-ainnūrruvār*, etc.[2]

The guilds may be broadly classified into two types, viz., the trade or merchant guilds and the craft or professional guilds. Dr. Richard Fick observes that there was a clear difference, so far as organisation was concerned between the traders and merchants on one side, and the artisans on the other. As regards the former (the merchant guild), the hereditery families pursuing certain branches of trade, no doubt formed themselves into corporation with a *Jeṭṭhaka* (Alderman) at its head.[3] T. V. Mahalingam observes that it was essentially an association of merchants, played a large part in the commercial life of the country and very much resembled the *Sabha* on account of the large part it played in the administra-

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[1] Jain, P. C. *Socio-Economic Exploration of Mediaeval India*, Delhi, 1976, pp. 105 ff.

[2] Mahalingam, T. V. *South Indian Polity*, p. 398; *Readings in South Indian History*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 105 ff; Narasimha Rao, R. *Corporate Life in Medieval Andhra*, Secundrabad, 1967, pp. 11 ff; Sundaram, K. *Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra*, Masula, 1968, pp. 25 ff; Hall, Kenneth R. *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 51 ff.

[3] Majumdar. R. C. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, Third Edition, 1969, p. 18.

tion of the local area.[4] The craft guild was a professional association in which caste and heredity played an important part. Though adherence to a particular profession was the determining factor for membership in a craft guild, still the choice of one's profession was largely conditioned by the caste of the individual. Localisation of industries was another factor which determined the nature of the craft guild.[5]

There were several factors and forces that contributed for the formation of these guilds. To create the spirit of unity and corporate life among merchants, to improve proper means of communications for the distribution of commodities, to protect the mercandise against robbers, enemies and hostile tribes, to secure equal opportunity for all those engaged in trade, to avoid unhealthy competition and to secure for themselves a monopoly of trade on the commodities they traded with, to gain more profits in trade, to get their grievances redressed by the state, etc., were some of the important factors that pressed the merchants and craftsmen to form guilds.[6]

The head of a guild is referred to in the inscriptions of South India, *Samaya-cakravarti*, *Nagara svāmī*, *Pṛthvīśeṭṭi*, *Mahāvaḍḍa-vyavahāri*, *Vaḍḍa-vyavahāri*, *Śeṭṭi-paṭṭaṇa-svdmī*, *Nagarādhyakṣa*, *Nahara-puruṣa*, etc.[7]

Trade and commerce were not static factors but ever changing economic patterns. Traders, merchants and craftsmen always exhibit unsatiable zeal, verve and veracity to improve their commercial productivity activities. They will settle at a particular place and do their selling, buying, import, export and production of commodities to market with a profit motive as long as conducive conditions prevail there. If the conditions turned as hostile ones and hamper the economic progress in production and distribution of the commodities, then the traders and craftsmen will migrate to a place of safety. Some times with the desire of expanding their trade and commerce and the incentives provided by the state, the merchants and craftsmen will also migrate to a place of profit. *This aspect of migration deals with the economic mobility of the guilds.* There is sufficient evidence to state that the guilds in ancient and mediaeval India experienced hectic economic mobility.

It is known from the *Samudda-Vaṇija Jātaka* that there stood near Vārāṇasī a great town of carpenters, containing a thousand families. But among these thousand families there were two master workmen, each at the head of five hundred of them. On one occasion, one branch of it left the town and settled with their families in the nearby island.[8] This story shows the mobility of carpenters' guild. In this case the reason for the mobility was to avoid unhealthy competition between the two carpenters' guilds and that is why one of it left to a place of safety where there was no guild of its type. The Indor copper plate inscription of Skandagupta gives us some interesting information in this connection. It records the gift of an endowment, the interest of which is applied to the maintenance of a lamp which has been established in a temple for the service of the sun-god. We are further told that "this gift of a Brāhmaṇa's endowment of the temple of the Sun is the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen, of which Jivanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, (even) in moving away from this settlement".[9] Several interesting inferences are to be deduced from this short reference to a guild. Besides the custom of designating a guild by the name of its headmen, it distinctly points to the mobility of the guild, and more importance is evidently attached to the unity of the guild, than the place where it settles. This is an evidence of high state of guild organisation, for, none but a fully organised body could thus migrate from place to place and yet retain its unity and public confidence.[10] This mobility of the guilds in ancient India is further attested by the Māṇḍasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman. It relates how a guild of silk-weavers, originally settled at Lāṭa immigrated to the city of, Daśāpura, attracted by the virtues of the king of that place. At Daśāpura many of them took to different pursuits."[11] Here the significant factor that was responsible for the mobility of the silk-weavers guild from Lāṭa to Daśāpura was the patronage extended by the ruler of Daśāpura and the hostile conditions that prevailed in the Lāṭa region. This mobility of the guilds was not given up in later historical periods is amply supported by the inscriptions that are found in the Deccan, Āndhradēśa and Tamilnāḍu regions.

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[4] Mahalingam, T. V. *South Indian Polity*, p. 398.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 392; Majmudar, R. C. *Op. Cit*, pp. 18 ff; Verma, O. P. 'The Role of Traders and Guilds in Indian Society', *Itihas, Journal of Andhra Pradesh State Archives*, Vol. VI, No. I, 1978, pp. 46, ff.

[6] Mahalingam, T. V. *South Indian Polity*, pp. 393 ff; *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society* (*JAHRS*), XXXV, 1975-76, p. 435.

[7] *JAHRS*, XXXV, p. 438

The traders and trade guilds from the Tamilnāḍu and Canarese regions took very keen interest and played a very active part in the trade and commerce of mediaeval Āndhradēśa. Thus, there occurred active economic mobility of the guilds in South India. The Tamilnāḍu and Canarese traders exploited the port cities of the mediaeval Āndhradēśa for the promotion of over-seas commerce and the hinter-land business centres for the development of internal trade. This economic mobility of traders in their individual capacity and the guilds in their

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8 *Jātaka*, IV, p. 158

9 Fleet, J. F. *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 16.

10 Majumdar, R. C. *Op. Cit*, p. 60.

11 *Ibid*, pp. 61 ff.

collective outlook not only promoted the inter-state commercial prosperity, but, also paved the way for cultural assimilation. But it is curious to notice here that the migration and the mobility of Tamil traders and trade guilds to the Āndhradēśa was more than their Canarese counterparts. A careful study of the inscriptions of the trade guilds and their find spots, i.e., the interior places and port-cities, will strengthen the above suggestion. But before going to discuss the Tamil trader exodus to Āndhradēśa, we have to know first the factors that prompted them to undertake such an enterprise.

The inauguration of the independent imperial Coḷa rule by Parāntaka I in the 10th century A.D. opened a new chapter in the annals of South India. The reign periods of Rājarāja the Great (A.D. 985-1014) and his son Rājēndra I (A.D. 1012-1044) were considered as brilliant epochs in the history of South India. During their time internal and external trade reached its highest water-mark. The South India came into close contact, culturally, commercially and politically, with the countries of South East Asia. In this connection the trade guilds played a sterling role. The most noteworthy of these trade guilds were *Nānādēśi-tisaiyāyirattu-Ainnūrruvār.*[12] They were the most daring and dynamic merchants who were always interested in improving their avenues of trade. It is likely that they were responsible for the active mobilisation or migration of Tamil merchants and guilds into the Āndhradēśa.

There is another dominating factor, that is political one, which gave the required stimulation and encouragement for the Tamil merchants to think in terms of migrating to the commercial centres of Āndhradēśa. " The accession of Kuḷottuṅga I (to the imperial Coḷa throne) marks the commencement of a new era in the history of the Coḷa empire. At the end of nearly a century of dubious subordination to the Coḷa empire, the kingdom of Veṅgī (the Eastern Cāḷukyan kingdom) now became definitely a province of the empire resuscitated by its own ruler. After Kuḷottuṅga became the Coḷa emperor, Veṅgi was ruled successfully by his sons as viceroys, and this added greater to the strength of the Coḷa empire, by shutting the doors against the intrigues of the 'Western Cāḷukyas in that quarter. The first Cāḷukya-Coḷa emperor (Kuḷottuṅga I) soon overcame the troubles that threatened at his accession to bring about the collapse of the empire, and after establishing himself on his new throne, he had a long reign characterised, for the best part of it, by unparalled success and prosperity".[13] The union of the Coḷa and Veṅgī thrones in A.D. 1076 may be taken as the starting point of the economic mobility of the Tamil guilds into Āndhrādēśa. The Coḷa emperors, right from the time of Kuḷottuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1120) up to the time of Kuḷottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216), sent their officials, commanders, etc., to look after the administration of *Veṅgi-maṇḍala*. These officials and commanders were also followed by the merchants. In the wake of these political contacts with the Tamil region grew the mercantile mobility, and this aspect is clearly supported by the inscriptions discovered at three important Āndhradēśa ports, viz., Vishākhapaṭnam, Ghaṇṭaśāla and Mōṭupalli.

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[12] Sastry, K. A. N. *The Coḷas*, II, (Part. I), Madras, 1935, pp. 413 ff.

[13] *Ibid*, p. 1.

The Tamil mercantile mobility to Āndhradēśa is evident from two inscriptions found at Vishākhapaṭnam. The first of these inscriptions, dated in A.D. 1090, records gifts to a *peṛumbaḷḷi* of the Five Hundred (*Ainnūttuva peṛumbaḷḷi*) in the place (Vishākhapaṭnam) by a merchant of *Añjuvannam* community hailing from Malabār.[14] The other epigraph, dated in A.D. 1200, records the gifts to the same institution *peṛumbaḷḷi* of Five Hundred by a certain Vallabha *Samaya-cakravarti*, a member of the *Velañjiyar* community.[15] About these inscriptions and their significance Prof. K. Sundaram observes : " The two epigraphs while they acquaint us with the merchant communities of Tamilnāḍu, mention that Vishākhapaṭnam was a mercantile town with the mercantile assembly (*nakharam*) which managed the affairs of the place. That the Tamil merchant-communities the *Ainnūrruvār*, the *Añjuvannam* and the *Valañjiyar*-settled in this trading emporium is evident from the institution *Annūttuva peṛumbaḷḷi* to which the members of the later two communities made donations. On the anology of such examples like *Ainnūrravan Aṁbaḷam* and *Ainnūrruva Tirukkāvanam* found in the contemporary records of Tamilnāḍu, it can be safely deduced that this *peṛumbaḷḷi* (meaning a shrine) was constructed by the most enterprising of the trading communities, namely, *Ainnūrruvār*. It is thus evident that these merchant communities which specialised in overseas commerce inhabited the place to profit in the commerce which the trading emporium offered ".[16]

It is of absorbing interest to state here that Vishākhapaṭnam is referred to in the inscriptions found at that place as ' *Kuḷottuṅga-Coḷa-paṭṭana* '.[17] This undoubtedly shows the Tamil mercantile mobility and influence over that place.

Ghaṇṭaśāla was the other important port city of mediaeval Āndhradēśa. It is mentioned in the inscriptions as ' *Caḷa-Pāṇḍya-pur.* '[18] Prof. K. Sundaram states that " the term *Coḷa Pāṇḍya pura* has to be interpreted that the place was visited by the merchants of the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya countries ".[19]

Moṭupalli was the other sea port trade centre. It came to lime light during the time of the Kākatīyas and it continued to enjoy the same prestige under the patronage extended by the Reḍḍis and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.[20] It is referred to in the inscriptions as '*Deśiyakoṇḍa-paṭṭana*'.[21] It may be stated here that Mudigoṇḍan, which was a town of considerable importance during the time of the Coḷas, is described in the Inscriptions as '*Desyuyakkoṇḍa-paṭṭana*', apparently indicating the Tamil influence.[22] On the strength of this anology, we may state that Moṭupalli otherwise styled as *Deśīyakoṇḍa-paṭṭaṇa* indicates the Tamil influence. About the Tamil mercantile influence over this port city Prof. K. Sundaram states : " But no testimony is more eloquent than the charter given by Anavota, of the Reḍḍi dynasty, in A. D. 1358 and inscribed on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* of the Vīrabhadraśvāmi temple at Moṭupalli in two languages, Telugu and Tamil. Of the two versions, the Tamil copy is more important than the Telugu one and contains the details pertaining to the charter. This clearly shows that out of all the merchants that settled in the port for the purpose of trade, the merchants from Tamilnāḍu formed the main bulk and it was for these merchants the charter was issued in the Tamil language ".[23] He further states that the Tamil mercantile mobility and influence over the coastal Āndhraēśa is further strengthened by the manner " in which some of the records of the time from the Drākshārāma temple quote the solar month instead of the usual lunar month of the Telugu country and also in the way by which the king's regnal year is mentioned in the year opposite to a year instead of the simple *śānkhyāmāna* (reckoning with numerals) of the Telugu country. The quoting of solar month in the inscriptions was a practice of the whole of Tamilnāḍu and dating the records in year opposite to a year was the custom prevailing in the Pāṇḍya country of the extreme south ".[24]

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[14] *South Indian Inscriptions* (SII), Vol. X, No. 651.

[15] *Ibid*, No. 251.

[16] Sundaram, K. *Op. Cit*, p. 95.

[17] *SII*, Vol. X, No. 251; *AR*, Part, II, Para, 45, of A909.

[18] *Ibid*, Nos. 115, 145.

[19] Sundaram, K. *Op. Cit*, p. 95.

It would thus appear from the above discussion that the port cities of Āndhradēśa experienced the mobility of the Tamil merchants and trade guilds. But it should be noted here that the inscriptions found in the interior places, i.e., other than port cities also, throw some light on the economic mobility of the merchant guilds in South India in general and that of Āndhradēśa in particular. Thus an inscription found at Gūḍūr records the donation made by a merchant who hailed from the Tamil region *Coḷa-maṇḍalamuna-vyāpāri*. This shows the mobility of the Tamil merchants to the neighbhouring regions.[25] Another inscription found at Simhāchalam, dated in Śaka 1026, records a gift to the local temple by a certain Cirukkūri Appini Rāma who was *vyāpāri* (trader) from *Coḷa-maṇḍala*.

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[20] *S. V. University Oriental Journal*, Vol. XVI, 1973, pp. 100 ff.

[21] *Epi. Ind*, Vol. XII, pp. 188 ff.

[22] *AR*, 1910, Part, II, p. 51.

[23] Sundaram, K. *Op. Cit*, p. 96.

[24] *Ibid*, p. 94.

[25] *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Gudur, No. 56.

He had the title, '*Pedunenimidi-bhūmi-Rājarāja-samaya-cakravarti*, i.e., the head or the commander of the *Rājarāja-Samaya* of the 18 *bhūmis*.[26] How this head or the commander of a guild by name *Rājarāja-Samaya* in the south was granted by the guild of *Nakharamu* of Vishākhapaṭnam, a suburban area called Nallanyuttuva-*perumpalli* with exemption from a number of specified taxes on houses in that area is not recorded in that inscription. It has been suggested by some that this "commander came to Vishākhapaṭnam accompanying a trading caravan of the *Nagaramu* of the *Padunenimidi-bhūmi* (obviously from the neighbouring Tamilnāḍu region) and that the *Nagaramu* of Vishākhapaṭnam granted the traders from the south a residential area belonging to it to enable them to reside and carry on trade ".[27]

An inscription found at Peṛūru, dated in A D. 1119, throws further light on the migration of the Tamil merchants and their commercial activities in the mediaeval Āndradēśa.[28] This record refers to *Arava* (Tamil) *Nakharamu* along with the *Telugu Nakharamu*. It appears that Peṛūru (located in the Miriyalaguda taluka of the Nalgoṇḍa district) was a great trade emporium and attracted traders from different parts of South India. It is evident from this epigraph that there existed at Peṛūru a colony of Tamil merchants besides the Telugu native merchant community. Each of them had their separate guilds as well as the shrines of presiding deity of the guilds, viz., *Arava-Nakhareśvara* and *Telugu-Nakhareśvara*.[29] It is also known from this inscription that the Tamil merchants not only established their trading centres and colonies in the port cities but also in the commercial cities located in the hinter land.

The Peṛūru inscription, referred to above, also mentions another trade guild by name *Sankarappādiyavāru* settled at Peṛūru. N. Venkataramanaiah observes that this *Sankarappādiyavāru* perhaps refers to the merchants of Sankarapādi.[30] An inscription found at Chidambaram of the time of Rājēndra I records the establishment of a *nagaram* (merchant guild) in the eastern hamlet of the city, known as Kunamenagaipuram, which was settled by *vyāpārigaḷ* (traders), *vellālār* (the agrarian group), *sankarappādiyar*, *śāliyār* (weavers), *pattinavar* (fishermen), etc.[31] The Takkōlam inscriptions designate two membership categories of the *nagaram*. The first group was defined as the *nagarattār* of the *saṅkarappādi* and the *vyāpāri-nagarōttam*, while the second was distinguished

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26 *SII*, Vol. VII, No. Vol. 1173.

27 Narasimha Rao, R. *Op. Cit*, p. 39.

28 Ramanaiah, N. V. *Peṛūru Inscriptions*, pp. 6 ff.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid*, p. viii

31 *SII*, Vol. XVII, No. 326.

as the *śāliya-nagarōttam.*[32] About the meaning and significance of the *Sankarappādi-nagarattār* Kenneth R. Hall observes : " The *sankarappādi-nagarattār* are more difficult to identify, but appears to have been the inhabitants of a specific sector which past Indian epigraphers have attempted to locate near either a temple or the homes of the wealthy. *Sankara* has been translated as " people of hybrid origin ". and when compounded with *pādi*, " a sector " of a place may represent a claim by these *nagarattār* to be high status merchants, perhaps even brahmins. In pure Sanskrit, however,-and this term seems to have been borrowed from Sanskrit—*sankara* identified groups of people with a mixed origin, such that it was the king's duty to prevent the mixing up of the *varṇas* which resulted in the creation of *sankara* types. Are the *sankarappādi-nagarattār* then of high status ? A clue may be offered by the fact that the *sankarappādi-nagarattār* were actively involved in maintaining the regular supply of oil for temple lamps, not only supplying oil for the lamps like the other merchants but often managing the lamps as well-a responsibility normally assigned to brahmins. This association between *sankarappādi nagarattār* and a temple is indicated. For example, in the previously noted " Madras Museum Plates " the residents of the three *sankarappādi* named in the inscription were paid twenty-three *kalañju* of gold (coins) to burn temple lamps with oil which was supplied by the residents of another quarter of Kāñchīpuram. In such a role, we may identify the *sankarappādi nagarattār* as the normal wholesalers of oil within Kāñchīpuram, distributing oil which has been processed by the residents of the another quarter of the city. The high status of the *sankarappādi* is best shown in inscriptions from Uttarameṛūr, the well-known *brahmadeya* of the Chengalput district,.... ......–, where the *vākkāḍi-aṅgadi-sakarappādyōm* (" We, the *sankarappādi* of the southern market area) received money to provide daily oil for the local temples' lamps. Three members of the *sankarappādi* community were among nine persons named to test gold for the tank and " annual supervision " committees of the *Sabha*, suggest their acceptance as among those of status sufficient for community service ".[33] It is thus evident from the above observation that the *Sankarappādiyavāru* of the Peṛūru inscription were not the natives of *Sankarappādi* as suggested by some historians.[34] They were the natives of Tamilnāḍu, members of the *nagaram*, doing trade in oil and maintaining perpetual lamps in the temples. It is known from the Uttarameṛūr inscription that they played a very important part in the village administration. It appears that a section of the *Sankarappādiar* community, who were origingally the members of the guild of *nagaram* of Tamilnāḍu migrated to Peṛūru, established a colony of their own and participated actively in the trade and commerce of the region.

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[32] *AR*, 263 and 268 of 1931.

[33] Hall, Kenneth R. *Op. Cit*, pp. 54 ff.

[34] Ramanaiah, N. V. *Op. Cit*, p. viii.

The guild of cultivators popularly known as ***Kāṁpulu***, is found referred to in the mediaeval inscriptions of Āndhradēśa.[35] But, it is very interesting to state here that in the inscriptions found in the southern districts of Āndhradēśa, particularly in the Nellore district, this guild is referred to by name '*Citrameḷi*' or '*Citrameḷi-Peṛiyanattār*'.[36] This rural organisation of cultivators is very often referred to in the inscriptions that are found in the Tamilnāḍu region by several names such as, *Citrameḷī-Peṛiyanattār*, *Citrameḷi-Peṛiyanāḍu*, *Peṛiyanattār*, *Peṛiyanāḍu*, etc.[37] It is not difficult to explain the reason for styling the cultivators' guild as *Kāṁpulu* in the northern districts and *Citrameḷi* in the southern districts of Āndhradēśa. The southern districts of Āndhradēśa and the northern part of Tamilnāḍu are geographically interlinked. This region was ruled more by the rulers who hailed from the Tamilnāḍu. Further, the influence of the practices in the neighbouring districts of the Tamilnāḍu was immense on the southern districts of Āndhradēśa. Thus, these factors might have resulted in the mutual mobility of the cultivators from one region to the other. This may be the reason for styling the cultivators' guild as *Citrameḷi* in the inscriptions that are found in the Nellore and Chittoor regions. This shows that not only mobility was enjoyed by trade guilds, but, also by the guild of agriculturists.

The mediaeval Āndhradēśa not only witnessed the mobility and the impact of the Tamil traders and cultivators, but, also experienced the same mobility from the merchants of the Canarese region. There is ample epigraphic evidence to support this suggestion. The expressions, viz., *Ayyavāḷi-mukhyulaina-samastha-pekkaṇḍru*[38] (the *Pekkaṇḍru* (merchants) who were the important persons of Ayyavāḷi, i.e. Aihōle), *Ayyavāḷi-chālumūla-samastha-yābalru-deśāla-śeṭṭi-pekkaṇḍru*,[39] (the *Pekkaṇḍru* merchants who hailed from Ayyavāḷi and fifty-six countries or regions located in all directions), *Ubhaya-nānādeśi-Ayyavāḷi-mukhyulaina-chālumūla-samasta-Pekkaṇḍru*[40] (the *Pekkaṇḍru*, pertaining to local, foreign regions and countries of all directions and also the important persons of Ayyavāḷi), etc., will give us some important information in this connection. In all these cases, Ayyavāḷi, identified with Aihōḷe in the Bijapur district of Karnāṭaka, is associated with *Pekkaṇḍru* one of the most important trade guilds of the mediaeval Āndhradēśa.[41] This indicates that the guild of *Pekkaṇḍru* was originally connected with the traders of Ayyavāḷi, which in its turn reflects upon the mobility of the Canarese merchants into the Āndhradēśa. This is further supported by an inscription found at Tripurāntakam and dated in A.D. 1214. It refers to eulogies, the former portion being in the Telugu *praśaśti* of the local guild and the latter in Kannada of the *Ayyavāḷi-500*.[42]

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[35] Ramachandra Rao, C. V. *Administration and Society in Medieval Āndhra* (A.D. 1038-1538) *under the Later Eastern Gaṅgas and the Sōmavaṁśa Gajapatis*, Nellore, 1976, pp. 207 ff; R. Narasimha Rao, *Op. Cit*, pp. 76 ff.

[36] *Nellore Distrrict Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Nellore, Nos. 55, 72.

[37] Mahalingam, T. V. *South Indian Polity*, p. 386; *Readings in South Indian History*, pp. 105 ff.

[38] Sastry, P. V. P. *Inscriptions of Āndhra Pradesh, Cuddapah District*, No. 13.

[39] *Ibid*, No. 111, pp. 140 ff.

[40] *Ibid*, No. 109, pp. 137 ff.

It may be stated here that some individual merchants, apparently enjoying a very high status in the guild of *Ayyavāḷi-500* of the Canarese region, figured in the inscriptions of the mediaeval Āndhradēśa. Thus an inscription from Appāpuram in the Guntur district mentions one Kāṭūru Vallabha *śeṭṭi* who is described as the *Lord of Ayyavāḷipura*.[43] Several such merchants are referred to in the Canarese inscriptions found in the Āndhra region.[44] All these merchants who were doing trade in the Āndradēśa were evidently from the Canarese region and this undoubtedly betrays the mobility of the Canarese merchants and their corporate activities in the mediaeval Āndhradēśa.

It is known from the epigraphic evidence that several trade and craft guilds of north India migrated to Āndhradēsa and Deccan and further accelerated the process of economic mobility of the guilds. It is known from the *praśaśti* of the *Telikis*—the guild of oil-pressers—that they came to the south as the camp followers of the Cāḷukyas and continued to be the staunch supporters of the Cāḷukyas in their struggle for the acquisition and consolidation of power in the south.[45] The guild of oil-millers was in existence in Āndhradēśa since the time of the Śātavāhanas.[46] It is likely that the *Telikivevuru* who were migrants from the north became fused with the already well-established community of oil-millers. This is another evidence to prove the economic mobility of trade or craft guilds from the north to south India.

The Peṭūru inscription of A.D. 1119 throws further light on the mobility and migration of trade guilds from north to south India. It refers to certain trade guilds by name *Lāṭavijjayavāru* and *Gaṅgara-mūvattaru-bīḍugaḷavāru*.[47]

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[41] Narasimha Rao, R. *Op. Cit*, pp. 11-32.

[42] *SII*, Vol. X, No. 473.

[43] *Ibid*, No. 573.

[44] *AR*, 478 of 1914; Sundaram, K. *Op. Cit*, p. 72

[45] *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 77 ff.

[46] *Luders List*, No. 1137.

[47] Sastry, P. V. P. *Kākatīya Coins and Measures*, Hyderabad, 1975; Rama Rao, M. *Eastern Chāḷukyan Coins*, Hyderabad, 1963; Ramesan, N. *A Catalogue of the Vijayanagara Coins of the Āndhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1962.

It is likely that the former refers to a trade guild of a Lāṭa country whereas the latter belonged to the thirty-six towns of the country. The Gaṅga country referred to here most probably refers to the Western Gaṅgas of Talakad. The Lāṭa invariably refers to the Gujarat region. If this identification is accepted then it follows that the merchant guilds of the Lāṭa and Gaṅga regions migrated to Āndradēśa and established their centres of trade and commerce at Peṟūru.

It would thus appear from the above discussion that South India witnessed in the mediaeval period hectic economic mobility of the trade and craft guilds. The Āndhradēśa became a cradle of their activities. It is interesting to state here that inspite of hostilities that existed in between the kings of the three regions viz., Āndhradēśa, Karnāṭaka and Tamilnāḍu, these merchant and craft guilds not only continued their corporate activities unhampered, but, also promoted cultural and economic hormony in between these regions. It appears that there never existed an atmosphere of animosity in between these guilds. Further, the economic mobility of the guilds paved the way for the successful exploitation of raw-materials available at different places and regions which in its turn fostered production. The increase in production led to the localisation of craft industries. The increase in production and the localisation of industries developed trade and commerce both inland and overseas. This is followed by the increase in money economy which is amply supported by the coins issued by the Vishṇukuṇḍins, the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the Western Cāḷukyas, the Kākatīyas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.[47] The cumulative effect of these developments was the urbanisation. Several new cities emerged and the old ones were brought to lime light. Aihoḷe, Belūr, Śōmanathpūr, Gadag, etc., in Karnāṭaka; Orugallu, Veṅgī, Moṭupalli, Ghanṭāśāla, Penugoṇḍa, Vishākhapaṭnam, Peṟūru, etc., in Āndhradēśa and Kāñchīpuram, Tāñjavur, Chidambaram, Tribhuvan, Ennāyiṟam, etc., in Tamilnāḍu bear an evidence to it.

A NOTE ON THE SCULPTURES FROM PINJORE (HARYANA)

By

SHEELA NAGAR*

Pinjore is situated in the midest of Siwalik hills about 20 kms. east of Chandigarh on the Chandigarh-Simla Road in Haryana. It is engridled by the Jhajjar and Kaushalya *nadi*s which join the Ghaggar slightly downwards. This small town is famous for its seven-terrace Mughal garden surrounded by a high enclosure with four gates. This garden is carpeted with beautiful flowers and throughout the year continues to be a resort for picnics and week-ends.

The modern industrial town of Pinjore has spread itself over the ruins of the old site which seems to have been a place of considerable religious importance before the inroads of the Muhammadans in this part of the country.[1] In raising the structures like *Kabir-Kā-Chauntrā* and a *Masjid* the relics of earlier religious structural monuments and the images of Brahmanical and Jain divinities were frequently used. The inscribed slabs, old *Boalis* and a few architectural fragments like door jambs, lintels, architraves noticed here and there in the town, point to a hidden treasure of art underneath. The *Dhārākṣetra* inscription, recording the name '*Punchpur*'[2] identified with Pinjore by Sir Cunningham perhaps suggest the old name of the town which was also the scene of battle between the Chauhānas and Tomaras.[3] The local tradition, however, avers '*Bhimanagara*' to be ancient name of the town.[4]

Early medieval and medieval sculptures have been found in large number from Pinjore and its neighbourhood. Some of the best sculptural pieces are now being displayed in the State Museum, Patiala and the Art Gallery and Museum at Chandigarh and a few of these decorate the Rajabhavana Haryana at Chandigarh. More than a hundred sculptures have been recently shifted to the Kurukshetra University and are now housed in the departmental museum of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 36, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 1986-June, 1987 issue, pp. 277-279.

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[1] Cunningham *A.S.I.* 1978-79, XIV, p. 71.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[3] Sharma Dasharatha '*Early Chauhan Dynasties*' 1959.

[4] Handa Devendra 'Pinjore-Punjab-ka-Eka-Prachina-Nagar' *Vishvajyoti*, Hoshiarpur, Feb. 1967, p. 24.

All these sculptures except a few images of seated Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* which are in marble have been carved in grey sandstone quarried locally in the foot hills. These are comprised of Brahmanical and Jain images and architectural fragments like pillars, pilasters, pillarcapitals, door jambs and some other decorative motifs. Among the Brahmanical sculptures are identified the images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Varuṇa and mother goddesses.[5] The Jain images include those of Tīrthaṅkaras and their attendants, Yakṣas and Yakṣīs. Stylistically most of these sculptures can be assigned to the medieval period (11th-12th Cent. A.D.). But a few of the images belonging to early medieval period (9th-10th Cent. A.D.) have also been discovered.

Several selected sculptures from the site are described below to throw light on the art of the region :—

Fig. : The Ālasya Kanyā

She is flexed in a triple bend and stands self absorbed in a niche. Her hands are raised upwards in an erotic posture. She wears light ornaments on her body. The mixed expression of shyness and smile on her round oval face is very charming. Her yawning posture fills her body with laziness. The contours of her proportioned body still show the softness and grace associated with Gupta mode.[6] But the wooden like weak-rendering of the legs show that the sculpture is not earlier than 10th century A.D.

Fig. 2 : The Mother and the Child

Unfortunately the sculpture is badly damaged and the tiny figure of the child is almost missing. The mother is shown seated on a pedestal with the child in her lap. Her right hand is in yogic posture and with the left she is giving support to the child. Her fondly looks are fixed on the child which fill the sculpture with affection. Probably the figure of the 'mother' is that of Pārvatī and the child is Kārttikeya. Gaṇeśa is also present on the upper right side of the sculpture. This specimen belongs to 9th-10th century A.D.

Fig. 3 : The Standing Kārttikeya

Kārttikeya i.e. the god of victory stands gracefully and majestically with a slight bend in his body. He is riding on *Mayūra*, his *Vāhana*, who is gazing at the feet of his lord with turned neck. The figure of Kārttikeya had four hands, now upper two are missing. In the lower right hand he holds a cock and in the right a *Kamaṇḍalu*. Iconographically, it is one of the rare figures of this god and is not earlier than 11th-12th century A.D.

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[6] Sivaramamurty C. *Indian Sculpture*, Delhi 1961, p. 22

Fig. 4 : Standing Bhairava

The Bhairava stands lyrically in *dwibhaṅga* posture. In his right hand he holds *Khaḍga* and a *Naramuṇḍa* in the left. He wears his hair in *Jaṭāmukuṭa* which has been adorned with a scull in the front. A snake is lying round his neck. The sculpture is not earlier than 12th century A.D.

Fig. 5 : The Headless Jain Yakṣa

The head of the Yakṣa is missing and his two hands are also broken off and legs are partly mutilated. But still we see that his body is endowed with energy and is full of vitality. He stands in *Kāyotasaraga mudrā.* He is wearing *dhoti* and his chest is marked by *Śrī-vatsa* symbol. The heavy and lifeless rendering of his legs certainly dates him in 10th-11th Century A.D.

Fig. 6 : Head of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara

The face of the Tīrthaṅkara is round in shape and flattened in features. His hair has been arranged in Gupta type curls. The *Chatra* protects the head and the elephants, as usual are paying homage to it. The face lacks spirituality in expression.

The earlier group of sculptures belonging to 9th-10th century A.D. is marked by a softer though not subtle plasticity and a suave linear treatment.[7] A psychological awareness[8] on their faces is also visible (figs. 1-2). But later group belonging to 11th-12th A.D. show a mechanical expression on their faces and their bodies have become tense and static[9] (figs. 6-7). Slightly cylindrical treatment of the bodies and the heavy round faces (figs. 3-4) give a reading of the medieval Kashmir art traditions[10] in them. Though such figures are sometimes flattened and elongated in texture,[11] they still display the warmth of feeling combined with delicacy and charm.[12] The plastic harmony and rhythm a characteristic feature of early medieval[13] period have a feeble lingering in them. Stylistically these figures from Pinjore bear a close affinities with the group of sculptures from Kangra and Chamba (Himachal Pradesh).

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[7] Saraswati, S. K., *Survey of Indian Sculpture* (Calcutta 1952) p. 16.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 16.

[9] Mukerjee, R. K., *The Flowering of Indian Art* (Bombay 1964) p. 282.

[10] Goetz, H., Medieval Sculpture of Kashmir; *Marg*, Vol. VIII-2, March 1955, p. 26.

[11] Saraswati, S. K., *Op. Cit.*, p. 16

[12] Mukerjee, R. K., *Op. Cit.*, p. 66

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 66

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REVIEWS

Śrīmad Brahmasūtrāṇubhāṣyam, Part V–Chapter IV By Śrī-Vallabhācārya with commentaries *Bhāṣya-Prakāśa* by Puruṣottama and *Bhāṣya Prakāśa Raśmi* by Gopeśvara. Edt. by D. V. SANKLIA and others; Re-edited by GOSWAMY SHYAM MANOHARJI; Pub. : Śrī Vallabha-Vidyā-peeṭha—Śrī Viṭṭhaleśa Prabhu-caraṇāśrama Trust, Kolhapur, V.S. 2041, pp 56 + 327; Price—not mentioned.

In 1983, while reviewing Śrī-Vallabhācārya's (V.) *Aṇu-Bhāṣya* (AB) on the *Brahma-Sūtra* (BS.), I warmly appreciated the project, saying, " By publishing this excellent edition of the AB., the trustees of Śrī Nathadwara Temple Board have laid under deep obligation the world of Sanskrit Scholars and Philosophers for generations to come " (*Bhāratīya Vidyā* XLIII. 88). It, however, passes one why that great affluent Vallabhite Centre abandoned this important project forming the very basis of Śuddhādvaitism.

It is a happy surprise that a comparatively less known trust in far off South Maharashtra at Kolhapur has brought out a beautifully printed and nicely got-up edition—a reprint of AB. on BS. The AB. with these two commentaries was first edited by the late V. D. Sanklia and others in V.S. 1984. The book was, however, not available for the last three-four decades. Hence, this Kolhapur Vallabhite Trust and their guiding spirit Śrī Śyam Manoharaji Goswamy, the editor of this reprint, deserve the thanks of all students of Śuddhādvaitism for the excellent edition of this part of AB.

I, however, fail to undestand why the editor leap-frogged the intervening chapters of the AB and published this controversial part, as it is not from the pen of V. but of his second son Viṭṭhaleśa (VT). The editor has ably defended VT.'s position in the Introduction. But before taking up the controversy, I would like to note the special features of this edition as compared with the old one of Sanklia and others. They are :

(1) A detailed table of contents giving a Sūtra-wise summary of the contents (and the commentaries).

(2) Composition of 42 *Kārikā*s by the editor Goswamy Śyam Manoharaji. They contain the gist of the work, succinctly refuting the alleged philosophical differences between V. and VT.

But, the major part of the Introduction of 35 pages contains the refutation of the objections against VT.'s commentary, even though some of them are hypothetical such as :

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 36, Nos. 1-4, Sept. 1986-June 1987 issue, pp. 291-325.

Had a complete MS. of V's AB been available or had the commentary of Gopinathaji, the elder brother of VT. been available, it would have been different from VT.'s present commentary on the BS.

The more important objection is against VT.'s over-reliance on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Bh. P.) in preference to other Vallabhite *Pramāṇa* Texts viz. *Śruti*, BS., *Bhagavad Gītā* (BG). It is argued that modern scholars do not approve of this.

It is also curious to note that some blame VT for using BS. in explaining doubts arising out of expressions in the Bh.P.

According to V., the four authoritative texts (*Pramāṇas*) are *Śruti* (Upaniṣads), BS, BG and Bh.P. It is in that order that these texts remove the doubts arising out of the previous text. Thus, the Bh.P. becomes the supremely authoritative text. Shri Goswamy establishes this by profusely quoting from all the major and minor works of V. such as *Subodhinī*, *Tattvārthadīpa-nibandha*, *Ṣoḍaśa-grantha* and AB. Shri Goswamy asks, if V. regards Bh. P. as the highest *Pramāṇa*, why should VT. be blamed for his reliance on Bh.P. simply because V. on BS. 1 1.2 states the Brahman to be knowable through Upaniṣads. But despite the supreme position of the Bh.P., it does not invaliditate the *Pramāṇa*-nature of the previous texts. So use of the *Śruti* to explain some doubtful point in the Bh.P. is equally valid.

Difference in the style of writing or expression is inevitable in two writers writing on the same subject. Respect for V.'s style of Sk. writing is the personal predilection of the critic and cannot be an objection against the competence of VT. and cannot be regarded as deviation from V.'s philosophy.

The whole Introduction (which is in Hindi) is worth perusal in the original in order to appreciate the depth of scholarship, presentation of arguments and convincing defence of VT.

But, despite this able defence, the controversy will go on till some researcher discovers the autograph or a reliable copy of the autograph of V.'s missing portion of AB or Śri Gopinathaji's commentary on the missing portion. Fortunately, as compared with some other states, Gujarat has an age-old tradition of preserving carefully the MSS. in *Grantha Bhāṇḍāras* and I hope one day we may be lucky in discovering the missing work just as the so called ' Lost ' ancient Jain Texts were discovered at Mudibidri, in Karnatak.

The trustees of Vallabha Vidyāpeeth and Prabhu-caraṇāśrama Trust and the editor Goswami Śyam Manoharji who is the guiding force behind Vallabhite researches, deserve our grateful thanks for this excellent edition of the AB.

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History of Gujarat, Vol. III : by M. S. COMMISSARIAT : Pub. by Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad-1, pp. 1047; Price Rs. 250/-.

The Late Professor M. S. Commissariat who spent his entire teaching career of 30 years as Professor of History at the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, was a versatile scholar and original researcher of Gujarat History. He delivered in 1930 The Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures on "Studies in the History of Gujarat" at the invitation of the University of Bombay and his monograph on "Imperial Mughal Farmans of Gujarat" has been published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* in July 1940.

But his *magnum opus* is the *History of Gujarat* in three volumes, dealing especially with the periods of Gujarati Sultanate and Mughal and Maratha rule. The first volume dealing with the history of the Sultanate (1297-1573), with a brief preamble on the earlier history, was published in 1938 by the Longmans Green Company of London. The Second Volume devoted to the Mughal Period (1573-1758) was brought out by the same publisher in 1957. Peofessor Commissariat had prepared, with the same meticulous care, the third volume on the Maratha Period (1758-1818); it has been brought out as a posthumous publication by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad (Formerly called the Gujarat Vernacular Society established in 1848, by A. K. Forbes, the first historian of Gujarat who published his *Rāsamālā* in two volumes in 1856).

Though the third volume of Commissariat's history mainly deals with the Maratha period, it also includes an account of some previous events and happenings which are helpful in following the trends of Maratha History in Gujarat. Part I of the book describes the establishment of Portuguese colonies at Bombay, Bassein, Div and Daman between 1534 and 1739. Part II gives an autheticated history of the vicissitudes of the great port of Surat under the Mughal Governors and their dealings—co-operation and conflicts with the East India Companies of the English, the Dutch and the French from 1612 to 1680 and of the sack of Surat by Shivaji. Part III describes the rise of Bombay and gradual decline of Surat (1660-1690) because of political, diplomatic and economic reasons and also because the great merchant community of Surat—Hindu, Muslim and Parsi-began to experience that the rules of law and consequent security prevailed at Bombay rather than at Surat.

Part IV is extremely interesting. It gives a record of events of the latter part of the rule of Aurangazeb (1680-1707) as far as they concern Gujarat. This is noteworthy because during these years the Emperor was camping in Deccan to subdue the Marathas and the contact of his court for the people who matterred at Surat was comparatively easy. Part IV also gives a narrative of the European piracy on high seas. Apart from the East India Companies of European Nations who were bound by certain rules and regulations and by their negotiated treaties with the the powers that be, there were a number of European merchants at Surat called "privateers", who were trading on their own and some of whom were suspected to be in league with the pirates. The Mughal Empire though powerful on land, had no sea-power worth the name. The Sidi ruler of Janjira on the Konkan coast was the 'Admiral' of Mughal navy and he was given rupees three lakhas annually for performing this duty. But he was hardly able to give protection to the coastal shipping, much less to the vessels sailing on the high seas. Surat was the gate-way to Mecca and was called *Bandar-i-Mubarak* ('lucky port'), but the pilgrim-vessels were many a times plundered and young women were abducted by the pirates. They were roaming all over the sea-routes of the civilized world. They were English, Americans (America was a colony of England during those days) and Portuguese and their haunts were Madagascar in the Indian ocean and the Bahamas in the West Indias. There were a few Koli and Vagher pirates on the Saurashtra coast, but theirs was comparatively a minor peril. The great Mughal Empire was so powerless on the high seas that the governors of Surat had to request for the convoys from the East India Companies of the English and the French for their ships going to the Red Sea and the Persian gulf and the companies accepted to extend protection for trade-concessions and other considerations in their favour.

Part V gives a chronicle of the Nawabs of Surat (1724-1800) who became independent rulers with the decline of the Mughal power and Part VI narrates the rise and fall of the Nawabs of Bharuch, Khambhat and Radhanpur. The last chapter of this part also describes the rise of the Gaekwad rulers in Gujarat.

In fact, all the six parts are, in a way, prelude to understand the history of Maratha rule. Maratha History in Gujarat, strictly speaking, is the subject of the last three parts of the book, viz. Part VII, VIII and IX.

Part VII deals with endless conflicts between the Peshwas, their vassals—Gaekwads and the British who were steadily rising in power and prestige. Part VIII describes in details how, in the end, the British succeeded, in getting possession of the city of Ahmedabad from Gaekwad in 1818 and how at last the citadel of the Gaekwads in Ahmedabad, viz., *Gaekwad-ni-Haveli* in the Jamalpur area of the city was ceded to the British as a result of protracted and painful negotiations.

In part IX which is the last part of the book the author has shed light on social and economic conditions of North Gujarat during the years 1780-1820. He has graphically described the conditions at Ahmedabad, Baroda, Chandod and Dabhoi mainly on the authority of the *Oriental Memoirs* of James Forbes, who was the collector of Dabhoi for several years, just before the town of Dabhoi and adjoining region was ceded by the British to Gaekwad. The author has narrated briefly, but with a rare insight, the life and works of Swami Sahajanand, the founder of the Swaminarayan sect, and his meetings with Bishop Hebber. It is noteworthy that Bishop Hebber praised the armed guards of the Swami who were his ardent devotees in comparison to his own guards who were mercenaries, though disciplined and faithful. In the end are described the ravages of great famine and pestilence of 1813 (which is known in Gujarat as *aganotaro kala*—'famine of 69'—because it occurred in Samvat year 1869) and of the disastrous earthquake of 1819 in North Gujarat and Cutch, as a result of which a formidable natural barrier, popularly called *Alla-jo bund*, prevented a part of Indus waters flowing into the Cutch region, as a result of which certain portion of that principality became permanently arid.

B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, a Research and Postgraduate Institute conducted by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, has put into operation a project (in Gujarati) for publication of Political and Cultural History of Gujarat in nine volumes with financial aid of the Government of Gujarat, and the VIIth Volume of the Series dealing with the Maratha period has been recently published. I believe that it will supplement, as to certain topics and details, the work under review.

However, Professor Commissariat's book is the life-work of a devoted scholar and a number of historical illustrations add to the interest and usefulness of the book. In this tome of more than one thousand pages there is not a single important statement which is not authenticated by proper evidence. And on the top of it, the book is finely produced and printed without any printing errors.

It will be in fitness of things if Gujarat Vidya Sabha can bring out fresh edition of the first two volumes of Professor Commissariat's *History of Gujarat*, which are long out of print.

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Stress and its Management by Yoga—By Dr. K. N. Udupa, Ed. by Prof. R. C. Prasad, Pub. : Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1985 pp. i-xiv + 1-395; Price : Rs. 135=00 (Cloth), Rs. 100=00 (Paper).

The book under review, coming as it does from the pen of an expert in medicine and an earnest student of the discipline of *Yoga*, is both comprehensive and authentic, so far as its specific topic is concerned. Its first edition was published in 1978 from Varanasi. In this second and revised edition some more topics, such as *Kuṇḍalinīyoga*, meditation, social aspects of *yoga* and an epilogue (highlighting the need of the hour that our scientists in collaboration with self-content *yogis* must attempt to explore this invaluble legacy of an important branch of knowledge received from our ancient sages) are added. The auther draws our attention to the Japanese adaptation of *Zen* which is the same as *dhyāna*, to suit their modern conditions, which helped creating Japan's most famous statesmen, scholars, artists and soldiers. He, then gives a list of ten *yoga*-Institutions working in India, but states that none of them deals with all aspects of *yoga*.

The author in his preface to the first edition states that this work is mainly based on experiments carried out by him and his colleagues on patients at the Banaras Hindu University Hospital. He himself, a patient of " Cardiac Neurosis ", achieved complete relief through regular practice of *yoga*. First of all he studied the vast literature available on the subject. Then followed practical experimentation leading to the conclusion that at first the cerebral cortex is stimulated by stress and then the hypothalamus and the entire neuro-endocrine apparatus are stimulated.

The neuro-humoral theories described in this book closely resemble the one put forward about two thousand years ago by ancient medical authorities of both the East and the West.

The practice of integral *yoga* as taught by Patañjali, a judicious combine of physical exercises, breath-regulation and meditation, acts directly on the cerebral cortex, thus affecting favourably the very source of all phycho-somatic disorders, restores equillibrium and ensures perfect physical and psychical harmony, order and health.

The book is divided into twenty-eight chapters, developing the theme in an orderly manner. Stress and hypertension are the twin root-causes of major disorders in the peoples of the modern world. They usually give rise to cardiac disorders, bronchial asthma, peptic ulcer, ulcerative colitis, thyrotoxicosis, diabetes mellitus, arthritis, anxiety neurosis, headache, cancer and other diseases. For the management of all these disorders, the practice of integral *yoga*, its different exercises and techniques indicated for different diseases, have proved to be very much useful.

The work is enriched by various tabular and diagrammatic presentations for a clearer understanding of the subjects discussed. In the appendix the author has provided the whole of the quintessential list of the matter, by showing which *āsana*, *kriyā*, and *prāṇāyāma* are recommended in which disease.

The list of selected reference works and the index have substantially increased the value of the book. The get-up of the work is fine and aesthetically and significantly designed.

It can be safely stated that the work is an invaluable contribution to the existing literature on the subject, and as such will be received very well among knowledgeable circles. Both the author and the publisher deserve hearty congratulations from scholars and laity as well.

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R. T. VYAS

Vaidikadarśaneṣu Jñānam (*Knowledge in Vedic Philosophies*)—by SWAMI ATMANANDA PARAMAHAMSA, Pub. : Rajaprakashanam, Varanasi, pp. i-ii + क–छ + 1-3 + अ–स — 1-187 + 1-2 ; Price, Rs. 55/- in India, $. 19=50 in U.S.A.

The present work is a thesis written in Sanskrit, accepted by Shri Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi, for the degree of *Vidyāvāridhi* (Ph.D.). It is published with the financial assistance from the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India. It is also awarded the first price of Rs. 5000/- by the Hanumāna Mandir Sāhityānusandhāna Saṁsthāna, Calcutta.

The work aims at a critical and comparative study of the views regarding Indian epistemology or the morphology of knowledge held by different systems of Indian philosophy, that generally accept the authority of the *Veda* and are six in number, viz., *Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkya, Yoga, Purva-mīmāṁsā* and *Uttara-mīmāṁsā*. The distinguishing feature of Indian epistemology is the fact that the determination of *prameya* or the object of knowledge is contingent upon that of *pramāṇa* or the means of knowledge. *Nyāya* being the system of Indian philosophy that mainly deals with the nature of *pramāṇa*, the author makes it his plank for the discussion of various topics relating to knowledge.

In his introductory remarks in the *prastāvanā*, the author has attempted to show how the six systems of Indian philosophy are complimentary, though they hold different views regarding the problem of knowledge.

There are in all seven chapters from amongst which the fourth is divided into two parts. What category of existence, knowledge falls in, is the topic of the first chapter. According to *Nyāya, Viśeṣika* and *Purva-mīmāṁsā*, knowledge is an attribute of the self. *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga* hold it to be an attribute of intellect and of the form of *vṛtti* or psychosis. In the *Vedānta*, particularly the *Advaita-vedānta*, knowledge of the reality—the *Brahman*—is of the form of pure consciousness and is self-luminous, whereas the knowledge of the external objects is of the form of psychosis formed according to the object, but is *sākṣi-bhāsya* or illumined by the witnessing consciousness.

The self-luminosity of knowledge is discussed in the second chapter. Except *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika*, all the other systems hold knowledge to be self-luminous, that is not standing in need of another illuminator than itself.

The locus of knowledge is discussed in the third chapter. *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika* and *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā* hold the self as its locus. *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* maintain that intellect is its locus. The *Advaita-vedānta* holds the *antaḥkaraṇa* to be the locus of knowledge of objects, but that of the self does not need any locus for it is the very essence of the self that is all-pervading.

The number of *pramāṇas* and the *khyâtis* or the nature of erroneous perception form the topics of the two parts of the fourth chapter. *Nyāya* accepts *pratyakṣa* or perception, *anumāna* or inference, *upamāna* or analogy and *śabda* or scripture as the four means of valid knowledge. *Vaiśeṣikas* accept only the first two. In the *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*, the school of *Bhāṭṭas* accept six *pramāṇas*, *arthāpattti* or presumption and *anupalabdhi* or absence being the additional two. The *Prābhākaras* do not accept *anupalabdhi* as a means of knowledge. The *Advaitins* accept six means of knowledge as the *Bhāṭṭas* do. The *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* admit perception, inference and scripture as *pramāṇas*. So far as *khyāti* or the nature of erroneous perception is concerned, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Bhāṭṭa* school of *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā* hold *anyathākhyāti*, contrary perception. *Sāṁkhya*, *Yoga* and the *Prābhākaras* hold *akhyāti* or non-perception of the thing as it is. The *Advaitns* admit *anirvacanīya khyāti* or indescribability of erroneous perception either as real or as unreal.

The author discusses certain scientific views regarding the theory of optical and acoustic perception in the fifth chapter. Modern science maintains that in these two perceptions, light-waves and sound-waves, originating from the objects, travel to the eyes and ears respectively. This view is refuted by saying that in both these perceptions, the comprehension and determination of distance and the direction cannot be explained according to the scientific view. It is, therefore, concluded that in the process of these perceptions, the faculties of the optical and the acoustic senses reach out to their respective objects, as maintained by the *Naiyāyikas*.

The problem of *svataḥprāmāṇya* and *parataḥprāmāṇya*, that is, self-validity or dependent validity of knowledge is considered in the sixth chapter. According to the former, the validity of knowledge arises from the very material that gives rise to knowledge itself. According to the latter, such validity arises from the orderliness of its source-material and absence of defects. *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* maintain that both the self-validity of knowledge and its absence depend on other factors than the source-material of knowledge. According to *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*, both of them arise from the source-material itself. Both *Pūrva* and *Uttara mīmāṁsās* hold that the self-validity of knowledge arises from its source-material, but its absence from other factors.

In the seventh and final chapter, it is shown that knowledge brings about liberation. Actions, objective knowledge, and various religious practices like meditation and others help creating the condition in which self-knowledge arises. Thus they are ancillary to knowledge which alone is the direct means of salvation.

The system-wise and topic-wise tabular presentation of the whole subject-matter is useful for a casual reader. The errata could have been made exhaustive to cover all typographical errors.

The format and get-up of the book are fine. The work, beside being a valuable addition to the existing Sanskrit literature, serves as a powerful indication that Sanskrit is still a very effective medium of instruction and expression at the level of higher education and research.

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Indian Studies, volume in Honour of Edward James Rapson, Editors, J. BLOCH, J. CHARPENTIER, R. L. TURNER, Pub. : Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, Reprint Edition 1985, pp. i-vi + 279-554, Price Rs. 180=00.

The work under review is a volume in honour of the great Indologist Dr. Edward James Rapson and is produced by arrangement with the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. It forms number twenty first in the *Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series*. Dr. Rapson made substantial contribution to the field of early history of India through his sustained researches in the branches of numismatics and paleography. His services as the author of the *Cambridge History of India* are remarkable.

The work does not have a proper preface, though the write-up on the inner flap of the first cover is captioned " From the Preface— ". It neither has an introduction nor the expected bio-sketch of Dr. Rapson nor the Bibliography of his works and articles. And most surprisingly the work begins with page 279, without any indication about the preceding pages. This anomaly may be explained by a probable hypothesis that the present volume is continuation of its earlier part-I, thoush this is not stated any where in the work.

Noted Indologists have contributed to the present volume. Their contributions are as under :

1. *The Word “ But ” in Iranian*, By H. W. Bailey.
2. *Pramnai*, By L. D. Barnett.
3. *Asoka et la Magadhi*, By Jules Bloch.
4. *Corrections of Eggeling's Translation of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, By W. Caland.
5. *Antiochus, King of the Yavanas*, By Jarl Charpentier.
6. *A propos de l'origine des chifferes arabes*, By G. Coedés.
7. *Les grands rois du Monde*, By Gabriel Ferrand
8. *De kāpiśī á Pushkarāvatī*, By, A. Foucher
9. *Conjunct Consonants in Dardic*, By George A. Grierson
10. *Hindu Salutations*, By E. Washburn Hopkins
11. *Sind nach dem Sāṅkhya-Lehrer Pañcaśikha die Puruṣas von Atomgrösse ?*, By Hermann Jacobi
12. *Note sur L'inscription Andhra de China*, By G. Jouveau-Dubreuil
13. The Doctrine of the Buddha, By A. Berriedale Keith
14. *Note on a Kharoṣṭhī Akṣara*, By Sten Konow
15. À propos du Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa d'Āryadeva, By Louis De La Vallee Poussin
16. Un nouveau document sur le bouddisme de basse époque dans I'Inde, By Sylvain Lévi
17. Griechische Militärische Wörter Im Indischen, By B. Liebich
18. Sur le génitif Sanskrit “ máma ”, By A. Meillet
19. *The Name Munjān and Some other Names of Places and Peoples in the Hindu Kush*, By G. Morgenstierne
20. *A Kharoṣṭhi Inscription from Endere*, By Peter S. Noble
21. *Deux Noms Indiens du Dieu Soleil*, By Jean Przyluski
22. *Professor Cowell and his Pupils*, By C. M. Ridding
23. *Viśvarūpa*, By Kasten Rönnow
24. *A Curious Case of Idiomatic Sanskrit*, By F. Otto Schrader
25. *Udānavarga—Uebersetzungen in “ Kucischer Sprache ”*, By E. Sieg und W. Siegling
26. *On the Ephedra, the Hūm Plant and the Soma*, By Aurel Stein
27. *Gandhayukti in the Lalitavistara*, By E. J. Thomas
28. *Two Terms Employed in Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, By F. W. Thomas
29. *The Future Stem in Aśoka*, By R. L. Turner

30 *The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture,* By J. Ph. Vogel
31 *On the Etymology and Interpretation of Certain Words and Phrases in the Aśoka Edicts,* By M. De Z. Wickremasinghe
32 *The Ṛgveda and the Punjab,* By A. C. Woolner

There is an anomaly in the printing of formes as is evident from the lack of correspondence between the " List of Contributions " showing article 24 as beginning from page 481 and article 25 from page 483, the contents of the book showing article 24 on page 483 and article 25 from page 481. The matter of page 481 and that of page 483 seem to have been interchanged through oversight.

The contributors have successfully thrown light on important but hetherto little known or unknown aspects of certain problems relating to the Indological studies.

A general index, if provided, could have greatly enhanced the value of this very useful volume.

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The Vīṇāśikhatantra—A Śaiva Tantra of the left current : edited with an introduction and a Translation by TEUN GOUDRIAAN, Published by Motilal Banarasidass—Delhi-110007 ; 1985 Pages viii + 162; Price Rs. 75/-.

Ancient Indian religious literature is quite varied in character and rich in contents, it embodies religious rites and practices, magic and *Mantra*s, spiritual and yogic—tantric exercises and all of them belong to the religions-sphere. As such there is a vast literature on all these topics and also on magical rites and tantra rituals which played an important role in the religious life of the people. The book under review belongs to the class of Tantra literature. Such literature is many a time enigmatic in character and it is very difficult to read it in between the lines. Many scholars are busy in this field and the editor of the book under review has successfully brought out the completely unknown early Tantra-book for the first time. This edition is the product of a good deal of tire-some work being carried out in editing the text so far not published especially Āgama text on Tantra-school It is a well-known fact that there are no good editions and translation of the Āgamic and Tantric literature and this is more applicable to literature on Śākta-tantrism. Hence, the present edition deserves the attention of the scholars of Tantra literature.

There is a very long introduction of 62 pages which covers all the aspects of the book such as contents, peculiarities of the language of the text, metre therein. The chief deity of the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* is 'Tumburu' and the present edition takes a survey of the comparative study of Tumburu so as to assess the position of the text as a source on Tumburu worship among all other sources and how its Śaiva ideology is related to Śaiva Āgamas. This part of the book is quite interesting and given a scholarly but critical treatment; there is also reference to the Tumburu-worship in South Asia.

The scholar-editor rightly says that the '*Vīṇāśikha*' is of considerale importance as a unique document of the Tumburu tradition or *Vāmasrotas* within early Tantric Śāivism.

The text also deals with the yogic doctrine of *nāḍīs* and *cakras*, genitals and navel which were of great importance in a magical rite-the very soul of Tantrism. In Tantrism, there is esoteric or symbolic interpretation of the figures of Śiva-śakti but this is not prominent in the text especially with reference to the figures of Tumburu and his four female companions though Tumburu is definitely a Tantric deity with his intimate connection to magical rites and potent '*bījas*' or syllables.

The text is nicely and carefully printed; the text is in transcription in Part-II, (pages 65-87), full translation of the text is printed in Part III (pages 99-137) and in the end some notes on the translation and index of half *ślokas*-odd *padas*, and index of important Sanskrit words, are given and as such it is easy for the readers to understand the text of a Tantric nature.

The present edition of the *Viṇāśikhatantra* by Dr. Teun Goudriaan is a great contribution to Tantric literature of ancient India, it is no doubt unique religious text in Sanskrit. The *Viṇāsikhas-tantra* school was considered to be very important with reference to the worship of Śiva, yogic exercises and Śiva as a manifestation called Tumburu, and *maṇḍalas* and *Mantras* very important in Tantric rites. Dr. T. Goudriaan is known to be an international scholar in the field of Indology, especially in the field of Indian religious history and the present edition is a fine testimony to his scholarship. The Tantra literature is mostly a neglected field but the present edition of *Vīṇāśikhatantra* will fill up many missing links in the religious history of India, especially with reference to deity Tumburu and his place in Tantra School in India and outside India. Scholars of religious history and literature will welcome the edition and they will be inspired to edit and study such texts of Tantra literature. It is also hoped that Dr. T. Goudriaan will bring out his valuable works in future and enrich the scholarly world.

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P. M. Upadhye

Oaths and Ordeals In Dharmaśāstra : Dr. S. N. PENDSE, M.A., Ph.D., Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amravati (Maharashtra) Published by the Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Faculty of Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao, University of Baroda, Vadodara ; First Edition, 1985, PP. X + 302. Rs. 72/-.

I have gone through the work ' Oaths and Ordeals in Dharmaśāstra ' by Dr. S. N. Pendse of Vidarbh Mahavidyalaya, Amravati (Maharashtra). It is a work of very high standard and the decision of the authorities of the Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda to publish this work under the Research Series of that University is highly praiseworthy. It is the author's thesis on which he was awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the same University.

Prameya (Proposition) is established by means of *Pramāṇas* (Testimony and Proofs). *Pramā*, i.e., that which leads to correct notion or real experience (apprehension) has been called *Pramāṇa*—' *Pramāyāḥ Karaṇam Pramāṇam* '. In the context of trial or investigation (*Vyavahāra*) relating to *Dharmaśāstra*, when the investigation (*vyavahāra*) is the *Prameya* (Proposition), the proofs or evidences needed for its establishment will also be different (in nature). The author of the *Mitākṣarā* commentary has explained and clarified Maharṣi Yājñavalkya's observation—

Pramāṇam likhitam bhuktiḥ
sākṣiṇaśceti kīrtitam
Eṣām anyatamābhāve
divyānyatamam ucyate. (II. 22)

in the following words :

" *Pramīyate paricchidyate anena iti Pramāṇam. Tacca dvividham—mānuṣaṁ daivikaṁ ca. Tatra mānuṣaṁ Pramāṇaṁ trividhaṁ—likhitaṁ—bhuktiḥ, sākṣiṇaśca. Eṣāṁ likhitādināṁ trayāṇām anyatamasyāpyabhāve divyānām anyatamaṁ jātideśa kāladravyādy—apekṣayā pramāṇam ucyate* ".

Pramāṇa (Proof) is required to establish a proposition sought to be proved. Maharṣi Yājñavalkya has laid down four *Pramāṇas* (means of testimony or proofs)—written (*likhita*), witnesses (*sākṣi*), possession (*bhukti*) and ordeal (*divya*). Of these, the first three are human evidences (*mānuṣapramāṇa*). Ordeal has been regarded as a divine or celestial evidence. As far as possible decision should be arrived at through human evidences. Kātyāyana has echoed this view by observing :

" *Yadyeko, mānuṣīṁ brūyād*
anyo brūyāttu daivikīṁ,
mānuṣīṁ tatra gṛhṇīyān-
na tu daivīṁ kriyāṁ nṛpa ".

Hence ordinarily cases were decided on the basis of human testimonies (*Pramāṇas*). Ordeals have been prescribed in deciding cases involving deep violence and crime-*gūḍhasāhasikānāṁtu prāptaṁ divyaiḥ parīkṣaṇam*". Nārada's view also deserves to be noted. He says :

> " *Araṇye nirjane rātrāvantar Veśmani sāhase,*
> *nyāsasyāpahnave caiva divyā sambhavati kriyā*".

Vijñāneśvara, however, differs from him and categorically lays down that ordeal should be resorted to only when no human evidence is available in any way.

Ordinarily, all are familiar with human evidences (*Pramāṇa*) since they are profusely employed but ordeals are not employed these days. Hence the general public is not familiar with them. Dr. Pendsc has, therefore, aptly presented his deep research studies relating to ordeals in this work. He deserves all appreciation for it.

Dr. Pendse has in this thesis first of all discussed in details the subject matter and scope of *Dharmaśāstra* literature while giving expression to the views of Westerners on the admissibility (*mānyatā*) of oaths and ordeals. Here he has discussed mainly the meaning, sources and scope of *Dharmaśātra* and the Hindu Judicial system. In short, he has presented an introduction to all those works on *Dharmaśāstra* which refer to oaths and ordeals. This Chapter presents an introduction to the treatment of the historical importance of the subject.

Chapter II deals with the name, number and classification of ordeals. Terms used for ordeal in the Dharmaśastrīs literature are *samaya, samayakriyā śapatha, daiva, divya kriyā* and *parikṣā* etc. The author has thrown light on all these. There is no unanimity of the Dharmaśastrīs about the number of ordeals. Mitākṣara has hinted towards all of them in his exposition. Dr. Pendse has aptly classified all these ordeals under three heads : (1) oaths, (2) ordeals, (3) the popular method. The authors of *Dharmaśāstra* also have not placed, all the ordeals under one head. Mitākṣara, the famous writer on *Dharmaśāstra* has explained '*tulāgnyāpo viṣam kośo divyānīha viśuddhaye*' as '*tulādīni kośāntāni pañca divyānīha dharmaśāstraviṣuddhaye dātavyānīti*. This discussion is very valuable.

The third chapter discusses the evidential value of the ordeals. As has been established above reality can be determined by means of *Pramaṇa*s or testimonies—'*Pramīyate anena iti pramāṇam.*' Dr. Pendse while discussing the fourfold investigation (*Vyavahāra*) has established the necessity of the employment of ordeals. The Fourth Chapter deals with *divya-mātṛkā*, i.e. general rules regarding the ordeals. The *Dharmaśāstra* writers have laid down some special rules. They have been classified and discussed under five heads. The treatment is fully succinct and scientific.

The fifth Chapter deals with '*divyavidhi*'. It has been classified under three heads—(1) The preparation, (2) The Ritual, (3) The Trial. This is the longest of all the chapters of this thesis. It discusses the procedure of the nine ordeals in the order given by the *Dharmaśāstra* writers. The order and the nine ordeals are : (1) *Dhaṭa* (Balance), (2) *Agni* (Fire), (3) *Jala* (water), (4) *Viṣa* (Poison), (5) *Kośa* (sacred libation), (6) *Taṇḍula* (Rice grains), (7) *Taptamāṣa* (Hot coin), (8) *Phāla* (Plough share), (9) *Dharmādharma* (the ordeal of *Dharma* and *Adharma*).

The *Dharmaśāstra* writers differ in regard to the employment oaths and ordeals. Dr. Pendse has examined the differences in the opinions of Dharmaśāstrīs in Chapter VI and has shown the importance and value of oaths.

Chapter VII deals with the institution of ordeals in India and observes : 'Ordeal was a living institution in India. It was found practised through all the Centuries of the Indian History. Instances of ordeals are known through various epigraphical historical records (p. 197). The treatment in this Chapter is based mainly on the researches of Dr. Pendse. The earlier Chapters present the study of the subject based on *Dharmaśāstra* literature whereas here light has been thrown on the history of the uses of various ordeals. These ordeals were employed under different names.

Chapter VIII presents social, anthropological, psychological and legal investigation into the practice of the ordeals. The treatment is interesting and highly valuable.

The thesis ends with three appendices entitled as (i) Oaths and Ordeals as practised by some Tribes of India, (ii) Sanskrit Verses on Oaths and Ordeals by various writers (iii) List of the examples of Oaths and Ordeals. These appendices are an important part of the thesis, and were unavoidable from the point of view of research. They provide basis for determining the authenticity of the discussions etc. presented in this work.

Dr. Pendse deserves congratulations for the scientific explanation of Ordeals based on his research. This thesis is an important and highly valuable contribution. It may, however, be difficult for the traditional ancient scholars of *Dharmaśāstra* not possessing sound knowledge of English terminology since it has generally eschewed the parallel Sanskrit terminology. Either a glossary may be added in future or Sanskrit terminology be provided within brackets side by side with the English terms used in this work.

The work is flawless and has been printed systematically. The Publishers deserve congratulations for this quality of the thesis which has been moderately priced.

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Srīmadbhagavadgītā with Gītārthasaṅgraha of Abhinavagupta (*Part–I, II*) Ed. Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan, Published by Sri Venkateswara University, Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati, pp. ix + 348 (Part-I), pp. 360 (Part II), Price : Not printed.

Of all the works of Abhinavagupta, the *Gītārthasaṅgraha* is the least known. It is a commentary by Abhinavagupta on *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*. Though edited and published in the past, it was almost in an oblivious condition. While the *Abhinavabhāratī* on *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* contain a full and clear exposition of Abhinava's views, the *Gītārthasaṅgraha* on *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* is conspicuous by its brevity. The editor and the publisher deserve our congratulations for bringing this important commentary to light.

Śrīmadbhagavadgītā with *Gītārthasaṅgraha*, edited by Dr. S. Sankaranarayana is published in two parts. Part I contains *Samarpaṇa*, a Foreword by Prof. K. Satcidananda Murti, Introduction by the editor, the text of the *Gītā* and the commentary with the *Ṭippaṇī* by the author, *Anukramaṇis* and two *Anubandhas*. The *Ṭippaṇī* in Sanskrit is added at the end of the commentary of each *Adhyāya*. Part II consists of *Samarpaṇa*, Acknowledgements, translation and notes, followed by Indices, additions and corrections. The notes are given at the end of the translation of the commentary in each *Adhyāya*.

The Introduction in Part I provides a very good background for understanding Abhinava's commentary, especially for those who are not acquainted with the *Pratyabhijñā* theory and the *Śaiva Darśana*. It discusses Abhinava's works, his attitude towards *Mokṣa*, the fundamental principles of Kashmir Śaivism applied by Abhinavagupta to *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, the points common among the views of Abhinava and Śaṁkara and their differences, and a detailed description of the Critical Apparatus. The *Ṭippaṇī* at the end of each *Adhyāya* elucidates Abhinava's views and discusses points of grammar, variant readings and the views of other commentators and authors. The editor's scholarship and discrimination are fully reflected here ; many knotty points are discussed, and clarified. The *Ṭippaṇī* opens up new directions for comparative studies in the interpretation of the *Gītā*. The *Anukramaṇis* consisting of the Indices of (1) verses of *Gītā*, (2) *Pāṭhabhedas* of the verses of *Gītā*, (3) the verses of Abhinavagupta, (4) the names of the authors of *Ākaragranthas*, (5) the names of the *Ākaragranthas*, (6) *Viśeṣaśabdas* are prepared systematically. The additions suggested in the *Anubandha* render the perusal a bit difficult.

While editing demands discrimination, preciseness and a careful study of various readings, translating demands thorough understanding of the style of the author whose work is to be translated. Abhinava's style forms a type by itself. His expression contains a blending of mysticism, philosophy, poetry, and perspicuity, which in this commentary is tinged with deliberate vagueness. Dr. S.

Sankaranarayanan's translation is very clear. The notes at the end of the translation in each *Adhyāya* shed light on many points which are left abstruse by Abhinava. Similar thoughts in Abhinava's works, and the views of other authors and commentators like Śaṃkara and Rāmakaṇṭha are pointed out.

Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan's edition is a valuable contribution to the books on *Śaiva Darśana* and to the studies on *Śrimadbhagavadgītā*.

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The logic of the Intermediate causal Link. by Dr. V. N. Jha, Pub., Sri Satguru Publications, Indological & Oriental Publisher, 4015 Shaktinagar, Delhi. 1986, pp. 1-xxiv + 73, Price : Rs. 75-00.

This book is a remarkable addition to the existing literature on the subject of " Navya-Nyāya " in Indian Logic and philosophy. Gangesha who flourished in twelfth century wrote the work ' Tattvacnitāmaṇi '. Dr. Jha's present work on Logic of intermediate link is concerned with the ' Apūrvavāda ' which is again a part of ' Śabdakhaṇḍa ' of Tattvacintāmaṇi '. Dr. Jha has presented lucid translation of the text. It is very much readable and it throws significant light on the problem of causation. He has remained faithful to the original import of Navya-Nyāya. As it is known Navya Nyāya deals with the problem of inherent quality among relationships. It believes relation to be realistic. Dr. Jha also refers and compares this with Shashadhara and shows the comparision with it. Gangesha expands over Shashadhara. So there are two texts in one volume. Shashadhar's text is also given at the end. The problem at issue in Apūrvavāda is concerned with the attainment of heaven by performing sacrifices in empirical life. It takes help of unseen principle of reality and connects it with ritualistic activity. Apurva means merit.

The author has given very helpful introduction in the beginning and he has made the task of explanation smooth and illuminating for the reader and beginner in Nyāya and Navya-Nyāya darshana. This problem is also raised in Poorva Mīmańsā where the priciple of Shakti and apoorva are enunciated. Dr. Jha refers to them in the introduction.

In the text two hundred twenty one verses are translated into English and herein the reader gets acquainted with the dialectical problem of ritualism as well as scientific problem of causation. The dialogue between pūrvapakṣa and Uttarapakṣa appears to have taken place in the mind of the author and verses have been written in the form of question and answer, The solution lies in the principle of Identity-relation which is essential as well as synthetic, i.e. accepted from external world. As it is a text it is not necessary to express remarks over the solution arrived at. Dr. Jha has done well in providing English translation of the original text for logicians in Indian philosophy.

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The Picturebook Ramayana, an illustrated version of Valmiki's story: Foreign and comparative studies/South Asian Special publications 3, edited by H. Deniel Smith, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, U.S.A., 1981, pp. xlii + 170, Price : US $ 13-00.

The purpose behind the publication of the Picturebook Ramayana as stated clearly in his preface (p. vii) by the editor Prof. H. Daniel Smith was to provide a brief over-view of the entire epic of Valmiki to the American undergraduates before they begin to read the epic in piecemeal segments. The said purpose is amply served by the publication of this book. The editor's remarks—" the most memorable introduction is to be found in the pictures which follow the synopsis. In ways that words cannot, these delightfully detailed drawings convey the essence of the Ramayana " has proved to be true. Thus the students of the Ramayana, the world over, have got some of the incidents of the epic well pictured. The editor and the artists deserve heartiest congratulations for providing good pictures of typically significant incidents of the epic. To a great extent, the pictures have succeeded in enlivening the hoary past even though they are line drawings. Had there been coloured pictures they would have proved much more effective.

On the whole these pictures depicting scenes from the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* are free from blemish. Only two pictures betray a small incongruity as detailed below. The picture on p. 25 represents Kaikeyi with ornaments put on her limbs at the time of asking for two boons from Daśaratha. This is incorrect. She had removed all her ornaments from her body long before immediately after entering the Wrath Chamber. Vide critical edition 2.9. 42-43. The same mistake is found repeated in the picture on p. 27 also.

On p. 66 the stanza 3.52.4 is quoted and translated into English as follows :- " The monkeys peered upward as she cried in alarm, her eyes never once blinking. " The translation is incorrect. The correct translation would be as follows :—" The best of monkeys peered upward as she cried in alarm and with their eyes never once blinking saw that large eyed Sītā." In the picture also the falling ornaments being oberved by the monkeys are shown but Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā through the sky is not shown which is a defect.

The editor in his preface on p. vii has rightly observed—"Paintings, lithographs, and hand-blocked fabrics reflecting epic themes grace public halls and private homes throughout the land. Other picturebooks have been produced before, and even comic books abound which re-state the ancient story in visual terms." The editor further continues—"But this may be the first time an illustrated version of the epic depicts the entire story as attributed to the ancient poet Valmiki. Many of the illustrated Ramayanas, based on regional re-tellings of the tale, end the story with the return of the hero and heroine to their native kingdom, culminating in a joyous coronation scene....To my knowledge, the descent of Sita into the earth and the ascent of Rama into heaven have never before been put into popular illustration (see pp. 149 and 153). That material alone makes the present volume unique- and extremely useful to students of the epic in its entirety." This claim of the editor is not completely justified in so far as the incident of Sītā's descent into the earth and that of Rāma's ascent into heaven have been pictured in the book, "*Saṁkṣipta Vālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇāṅka*", *Kalyāṇa* Vol. XVIII, No. 1, published by Gītāpress, Gorakhpur, 1943, p. 506 and 514 respectively. Of course these pictures are mere line drawings and that too in small size but their very existence along with other pictures pertaining to the incidents described in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* in the said book sets at naught the claim of the editor Prof. Smith.

Prof. Smith's claim—"the present volume is also the first time an illustrated *Ramayana* has drawn its captions from the recently completed critical edition of the epic text in Sanskrit", is fully justified for which he deserves congratulations.

Prof. Smith's observations are appropriate e g. in his preface on p. viii he states—"Of course, anyone "who has eyes to see", regardless of age or ethnic origin, can not help but be charmed by the imginative world revealed in the following pages, reflecting a story filled with wonder and adventure."

Similarly the observation on p. xxxi of Prof. Smith and Susan Farber in "The story of Rama : A synopsis" is very fine and accurate. As they put it—"Rama then, as always, knew what to do. As no other mortal before or since, this prince among men showed by action and instruction how a leader should conduct himself. He offered Vibhishana counsel fit for any king. First, when war is no more, a ruler should lay aside his weapons and forget former grudges. Second, when a fearless warrior falls—even an enemy like Ravana—it is proper to give that hero all due honor. Third, when even one citizen suffers, a compassionate king offers comfort. And fourth, when a monarch serves justice, he must not hesitate, even when dealing with difficult decisions."

Prof. Smith and Susan Farber have correctly recorded the tradition regarding the condition of the people under the sovereignty of Rāma as well as the duration of Rama's rule in the following words on p. xxxv. " Surrounded by his loved ones, friends, and allies, Rāma was proclaimed king and began his rule which lasted ten thousand years. During those years of his reign no woman became a widow, no one died of disease, and lifespans stretched to one thousand years. Families had many sons, rains fell when they were needed, and neither wild beast nor foreign enemies threatened the peace of that happy land. "

On p. xxxvi while discussing the question whether the *Uttarakāṇḍa* forms a part of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* by Vālmīki, Prof. Smith and Susan Farber have put forth a very nice point. As they say—" The answer is not easy because it involves complex literary and historical factors. Certainly there is in India a widespread tendency to ignore this last section and to conclude the *Ramayana* with the simple, happy ending of Rama and Sita's coronation. Many people are uncomfortable with Rama's act of abandoning Sita when she is pregnant and with Sita's descent in the embrace of Mother Earth. Nevertheless, the fact is that for at least a millenium-and-a-half, this final section has been included as an integral part of Valmiki's epic——and *that* is a longstanding tradition which cannot be easily ignored. " The balanced judgement of Prof. Smith and Susan Farber in this regard is really praiseworthy.

On p. xlii Prof. Smith and Susan Farber have dispassionately, boldly and correctly recorded the traditional faith in their concluding remarks as follows. " So ends Vamiki's story as first sung by Rama's twin sons, Kush and Lava (155). Many people believe that every word in the *Ramayana,* from first to last, is true. It is also said that so long as mountains rise and rivers run, the story of Rama will continue to be learned and loved. Surely, all who reflect upon and daily remember the Ramayana will be richly rewarded. " The last remark especially as it is passed by two scholars belonging to quite different faith and culture assumes geat significance. On the whole " The picturebook Ramayana " is a very useful, valuable and welcome publication.

The information regarding English renderings of Valmiki's Ramayana and the Cross-Reference Table to Parallel Texts provided in the sequel will prove immensely valuable to those who are not acquainted with Sanskrit. The editor's effort in this regard is really commendable.

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Encyclopaedia of Purāṇic Beliefs and Practices, volume I (A-C) by Sadashiv Ambadas Dange, published by Navrang, 4 RB-7, Inderpuri, New Delhi, 1986, pp. xii + 370, Price: Rs. 325/-.

" The Purāṇas occupy a unique position in Indian Literature, both sacred and secular.. ..composed at different times they not only contain.. ..valuable historical material, but also canons relating to several spheres of art and life ". (K. M. Munshi, Foreword to A. S. Pusalker's *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bombay, 1955, p. ix). Apart from their being rich and veritable sources of ancient and medieval Indian culture and society they record also the beliefs and customs of the people. There have been studies on some individual *Mahāpurāṇa*s (Major Purāṇas) and *Upapurāṇa*s (Minor Purāṇas) form the *kulturgeschiste* point of view and other points of view.

There are also published studies and helps of different types and categories also, *e.g.* V.R.R. Dikshitar presented information (not complete) of persons, places *etc.* in his three-volume *Purāṇa Index* (vol. I, 1951 ; vol. II, 1952 and vol. III, 1955, University of Madras, Madras) based on five Purāṇas only, *viz. Vāyu-Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, *Matsya-Purāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*. *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia* (Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi 1975, First English Edition) by Vettam Mani has its own limitations. *Paurāṇikakathākoṣa* (Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1932) by Dahyabhai Pitambardas Derasari is a small encyclopaedia in Gujarati with information from the two national Epics and Purāṇas. There is a small *Purāṇa-Viṣaya—Samanukramaṇikā* (*Concordance of Purāṇa contents*) by Tandon Yashpal (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, No. 3, V.V.R.I., Hoshiarpur, 1952). But all this does not exhaust scope of further studies and this has led Dr. S. A. Dange to launch a project of preparing an encyclopaedia of Purāṇic beliefs and practices and here is the first volume as a part of the project.

The author has based this work on the " nineteen Mahāpurāṇas " (Preface, p. vii). In this context he has left aside " the dispute regarding mutual authenticity of the two Purāṇas, namely the Śiva and the Vāyu. " (Preface, p. vii) (on the controversy of the *Mahāpurāṇa*-status of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and the *Śiva-Purāṇa vide* Pusalker A. D., *ibid.*, pp 31-41 ; Upadhyaya Baladeva, *Purāṇa-Vimarśa*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 95, ff.). It may be added that the controversy regarding the *Mahāpurāṇa* Status of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and the *Devī-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* could have been left aside in view of the fact that the latter is also an important Purāṇa from certain points of view and thus the work could have been based on twenty (*Mahā*) Purāṇas. (For a discussion on the problem of the *Mahā purāṇa* status of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* and the *Devī-Bhāgavata vide* Upadhyay Baladeva, *ibid.*, pp. 109 ff).

The work under review lays stress on the social perspective. It is significant to note that the information regarding persons is noted only, when and where a belief/practice is connected with them, and mere dynastic and personal details are discarded. Complete references are given on the main page itself in brackets and this facilitates the reader. The original text is cited in the Devanāgarī in important cases, whereas shorter citations are given in the Roman script. Comparative information from the Vedic and Epic sources is also focussed wherever necessary, but in the Epic references one misses the reference to the edition utilised here. One would like to assume here that the Epic references are to the critical editions.

Some items are dealt with in detail and some do not seem to be so, *e.g.* in case of the item " *Acchodā* " the information from the *Skanda Purāṇa* and with a footnote from the *Mahābhārata* is noted. The information from the *Matsya-Purāṇa* could have been noted here. (For information *vide* Kantawala S. G., *Cultural History form the Matsya-Purāṇa*, Baroda, 1964, pp. 51, 67, 81, 205, 228, 263).

Statements are fully documented. Line-drawings and tables enhance the utility and value of the book under review. The book is a welcome addition to the existing literature on Purāṇas in particular and on indology in general and it would be found useful to the students of Sanskrit as well as those of ancient Indian history and culture.

We congratulate the author and the publisher for publishing such a nice volume with an attractive get up and we look forward to the publication of the succeeding volumes of this *Encyclopaedia*. (It is heartening to note here the publication of the second volume *vide MLBD* News Letter Vol. IX, Number 4, May, 1987, p. 5 Delhi). It is hoped that this volume will find a useful place in the libraries of universities, research-institutions and colleges.

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Rathyāsu Jambū-varṇānām Śirāṇām (a collection of Sanskrit Poems) by Harshadev Madhav, pub. by Sanskrit Seva Samiti (M-4-67-521, Shastrinagar) Ahmedabad-13. pp. 8 + 40, Price : Rs. 2/-

This collection of over a hundred Sanskrit poems is marked with a complete breakaway from traditionality and breathes a fresh air into the comparatively closed world of contemporary Sanskrit poetry which has still not been able to come out, even in its satirical idiom, of the strong influence of the age-old Sanskrit poetic traditions as to its themes, forms, imagery, diction etc.

The title of the book itself marks this departure. The image of streets for veins is unusual, and the purple colour suggests fatigued blood, the mood of ennui. Not a single poem here uses traditional syllabic or mātrāic metres. Nor is any classical poetic form employed. Of the four types employed here, the forms of ghazals or songs have a short tradition but the poems with non-metrical lines or the short single-image poems are hardly four decades old even in our regional poetry.

The first group of twentyfive non-metrical poems is the most notable for its modernity of thems, attitudes and images. There is a poem on *Īśvaraḥ* (p. 4), of seventeen lines, thirteen having a single word each, mostly juxtaposing contradictory images like *asti/nāsti/.. rajjuḥ/sarpaḥ/... maunābhidheyaḥ/ . nāndī/ bharatavākyam* and ending with a line having only a question-mark ! The poet's erotic Muse is Alakanandā. Poems addressed to her generally depict a despondent mood. Poems like *Varṣāḥ, Sikatāḥ, Andhakāraḥ* etc. apparently describe elements of nature but aim at evoking a personal mood. A remarkable group of poems (like *Ṭemsa-nadī, Cerāpuñjī, Kālī-ghāte, Misra-deśe* etc.) successfuly seek to evoke picture of geographical locales with their peculiar moods by describing geographically peculiar details. An example :

सुल्तानहसनमस्जिदात् प्रसृतो निमाजस्वरः । / स्फिंक्साकृतिः पुनर्जांगृता स्वकेसरगुच्छं चालयन्ती । /
पिरामीडवायुरुत्थितः सिकतानां तन्तुनाभजालेभ्यः । / ...दीपशिखासमी राज्ञी नेफरतरी । / ...(मिस्रदेशे)

There are many fresh images in these poems as also in the two final groups of short image poems.

सिकतानां नूपुरं / नदति शङ्खोदरे । / (सिकताः, पृ. १८)
समुद्रद्वीपयोर्मध्ये / सेतुरस्ति / स्वप्नराजकन्यकायाः सौवर्णालकस्य ॥ (पृ. ३१)
तर्तुमिच्छतां मनुष्याणां / वासना घनीभूत्वा / भवति द्वीपः ॥ (पृ. ३८)
समुद्राख्यतन्तुनाभस्य / जालाञ्चले बद्धोऽयं द्वीपः कीटवत् । / कदाचित् /
जालरेखायाश्छविः सिकतासु दृश्यते ॥ (पृ. ४०)

The poems are also rich in beautiful allusions.

सूचिरन्ध्राद् उष्ट्रोऽपि / निर्गच्छेदिति बाइबिलवचनं / श्रुत्वा मया दृष्टं / तदा / उष्ट्रः
सूचिरन्ध्रान् / मम नेत्रयोः प्रविष्टः ॥ (पृ. ३६)

Compared to these non-metrical and short image-poems, the ghazals and songs appear to be only routine exercises in those over-cultivated forms.

The poet has also freed the diction from its traditional alliterative sweetness and given it a light and swift movement with a few transparent compounds aiming more at adequate expressiveness. It admits from other languages a number of words like चोपाई, ट्यूबलाइट, क्रिसेन्थेमम, झीमा, रब्बर, हम्बेला, उर्वीम्, मस्जिद, कब्र etc. There are also some new coinages : *baṅgurikā* (bangles), *mañjūṣā-vakṣīya vastra* (brassiere) etc. Some words like *śilpa, samaya, sphuṭati* reveal a semantic

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shift under regional linguistic influence. A number of hiatuses, reflecting a spoken state of the language, are also admitted for reasons of rhythmical needs of ghazals and songs. Thus, प्रसरति उपवस्त्रम् , केवलं अस्मि etc.

We may also point out some defects : (1) The poet very often compromises the real mātrāic value of syllables for purposes of rhythms. विमुखी सुमुखि !, अयि हे शिलारूपिणि, युगपदधनिकश्वपाकगृहेषु etc. This is unhomogenic to the genius of Sanskrit language- (2) Over-allusiveness of some poems (*kā tvam ?*-p. 1, *samudraḥ*-p. 13 etc.) raises the questions of the limits of usefulness or adequacy of the images- (3) Complete references of allusions should not be included in the body of the poem as in : समुद्र : हेमिंग्वेलिखित–/ "The Old Man and the Sea"- उपन्यासवृद्धाय/जीविताशावत् संशयकारक : ।- They should be relegated to end-notes or foot-notes- (4) Some wrong allusions have crept in. Alakanandā is alluded to as 'Gora' (of Rabindranath Tagore) but Gora is 'he', not 'she' ; he is the hero. In the image समुद्र : / जिप्सीयुवतीपृष्ठदेशसमोऽनावृत : । the intended picture is perhaps that of a Saurashtri woman with her open-back dress.

Yet it must be admitted that the allusive style has brought a universal context into the Sanskrit poetry. The details of global cultures find an unobtrusive and smooth incorporation into Sanskrit diction which attains a new flexibility and a new meaningful transparency. These characteristics are new in the Sanskrit Poetry. The modern sensibility revealed in the spirit and execution of the poems of *Rathyāsu°* thus becomes a unique feature of contemporary Sanskrit poety.

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Yāska-Praṇītam Niruktam (*chapters I, II, IV, VII*) : ed. by Dr. Vasantkumar M. Bhatt. Pub-Sarasvati Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad-1, 1st ed. 1982-83, pp. 8 + 228, Price : Rs. 40-00.

Nirukta is one of the six auxiliaries for interpreting the Vedas. The other auxiliaries are Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Chandaśāstra and Jyotiṣ.

But of these six auxiliaries of Vedas, otherwise called Vedāṅgas, the three Vedāṅgas viz. Śikṣā, Kalpa and Nirukta are comparatively less studied by the scholars though they are also equally important for Vedic interpretation.

The edition of *Nirukta* edited by Dr. A. D. Shastri is perfect and simple and it is in Gujarati. Though there was long felt desideratum for another well-equipped edition of *Nirukta* in Gujarati and it is fulfilled by Dr. Vasantkumar Bhatt

As Dr. Bhatt is a scholar of the school of Pāṇinian grammar, his effort is worthy to be welcomed. The only reason behind the above statement is that *Nirukta* and Sanskrit grammar are the two sides of the same coin and the coin is Sanskrit Language. Hence many times both the Aṅgas viz. *Nirukta* and grammar are designated as complimentary to each other.

His book contains the alphabatical word-index (p. 6-8) which is followed by the introduction on (p. 9-28). In the introduction he has discussed (1) *Nirukta*—eka *Vedāṅga* (2) *Nighaṇṭuno Paricaya* (3) *Nighaṇṭunu kartṛtva* (Authorship of the *Nighaṇṭu*) (4) *Nighaṇṭu ane Niruktano Sambandha* (Relation of Nighaṇṭu and *Nirukta*) (5) *Nirukta ni be vācanāo* (two versions of the text) (6) *Niruktanu svarūpa* (herein he has discussed at length the five fold method of interpreting the word as referred to in the famous verse *varṇāgamo varṇaviparyayaśca* etc. (p 17) (7) *Nirvacana eṭale śuṁ* ? (what is etymology) (8) *Nirvacanakartā Yāska* (discussion of two points of (A) Yāska as an etymologist and (B) Yāska as a writer and at last (9) *Yāska ane Pāṇini* (details about the relation of Yāska and Pāṇini).

Then Dr. Bhatt has given five chapters of *Nighaṇṭu*-words (pp. 29-48) after which commences the text of *Nirukta* (pp. 49-225). The text is taken context-wise. The text is translated in Gujarati and then the comments/notes are given in *vimarśa* (the name given by Dr. Bhatt for his commentary (?). In the notes he discusses the words according to the gramatical rules and also with the views of modern scholars like Dr. Saroop, Dr. Varma etc.

On pages 226 227 he gives the bibliography and the last page of the book is obviously *śuddhi patraka* (Errata).

Dr. Bhatt has left no pains in editing the text but still there are some faults which might have been avoided at the time of printing of the book. These are as under :

(1) He has forgotten to render the accents of some Vedic *mantras*, such as '*agniriva*' (p. 22) '*emenaṁ sṛgatā sute*' (p. 44) so on.

(2) There are some printing mistakes which are not mentioned in the Errata, e.g. '*dṛhyat*' (p. 95) which should be '*dṛhyet*' '*rciḥ* (p. 117) which should be '*ṛci*' and so on

Dr. Bhatt could not give the perfect references at some places, e.g. *upasargeṇa dhātvartho* etc. (p. 18 intro.) *viṣṇur vai yajñaḥ* (p. 178) and so on.

Inspite of the faults mentioned above, the book is worth purchasing not only because it is the second edition in Gujarati but also because it is the perfect edition wherein one can easily get the etymological and grammatical explanations of the words. Dr. Bhatt's efforts are worth appreciating.

The book *Yāskapraṇītam Niruktam* will be no doubt an asset to the Libraries students and also to the scholars of Sanskrit Language and Literature.

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Vaishnavism in Indian Art and Culture (Collected Papers of the University Grants Commission National Seminar on : 'Impact of Vaishnavism on the Indian Arts', Edited by Dr. RATAN PARIMOO with his assistants. Published by Books and Books : C4A/20A Janakpuri, New Delhi 110058, Pages; 468; 66 Illustrations on Art Paper. Price Rs. 630/-

This pioneering work was initially the proceeding of a Seminar planned to focus on the impact of Vaishnavism on the various art-expressions of India. The book is divided into 6 parts—Vaiṣṇava Mythology and Literature, Sociological Perspectives, Ritual and Architecture, Iconographical Explorations, Manifestions in Sculpture and Painting and Regional Dimensions and Manifestations in Dance and Music.

Inspite of the very profound and exploratory quality of these papers, the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal are almost missing. The greatest success of this book, which is too ambitious to be absolutely perfect, is the collection of material on Vaiṣṇavism and Indian Art, in the perspective of comparative and historical similarities and dissimilarities. This book would be a beginning of a kind of art-history which was made impossible for a long time by historians who dramatized reality to produce a tailored view of history.

First of all Vaiṣṇavism here is chiefly taken as a cult around Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa is very rarely mentioned by himself except for Haridas Swali who quotes *Bhāgavata* (1-3-28) — *Kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam*, but he has not shown the implication that Kṛṣṇa is the Supreme God and not an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Talking of Viṣṇu in Vedic Literature the authors refer to the three strides of Viṣṇu. who is both the core of individual beings and Supreme God. R T. Vyas explains three strides as the manifest Universe, the unmanifest Universe and the transcendental state beyond both of them. It could mean the Past, the Present and the Future which is eternal. After all Kṛṣṇa calls himself—'Time, the great destroyer'. The temporal energy is left out in most discussions and a great time is spent in either proving that Viṣṇu is a Ṛgvedic God or that Kṛṣṇa is a prototype of Viṣṇu. The historical authenticity and excavated cities have dimmed the traditional metaphysics which varies sharply from one kind of Vaiṣṇavism to another. The Vaiṣṇavism of Vallabhācārya is the most familiar veriety here.

'Aspects of Viṣṇuism in Classical Tamil Literature' by A. V. Jeychandrun is an excellent analysis of Sangam Literature which is placed in 200 B. C. Viṣṇu is referred to as Mayon which could possibly be derived from Moḥana. It is admitted, the *avatāras* are special features of Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism learnt this from them. On page 36 Viṣṇu becomes the numerals from ¼ to 9 and then to Infinity. I suggest that this Infinity is the third stride.

Vaiṣṇavism unlike the Vedic religion made worship and service an end in itself. Paripatal prays that the reward of worshipping Tirumal is to be gifted with a mind that would always remember him and praise Viṣṇu with greater eulogies. Suvira Jaiswal has a very brilliant essay on the kind of conflict syndrome in the Hayagrīva Legend. Further examples of this are Vasudeva Pauṇḍraka and Vāsudeva. She has quoted D. D. Kosambi who shows how Durgā kills the buffalo-demon Mahiṣāsura but Śiva himself is developed as Mahasobā—a buffalo deity. Vaiṣṇavism brought religion back to the common man because Buddhist monasticism was degenerating into Lamaism with monks making a career of theological games. While discussing the conflict between Buddhism and Brahaminism, the mention of the Nātha Cult would have been welcomed. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji has made use of Nāthas to explain the hostility between Buddhism and Brahminism. H. C. Bhayani refers to Līlāsua (perhaps Līlāśuka of Sanskrit) and Bilvamaṅgala as two separate poets while Līlāśuka was a name given to Bilvamaṅgala only because of his sweet compositions. The article has not been able to inter-connect facts and has done cataloguing. The Hindi article is more a report than an analysis. Why Sūrdāsa is full of *Madhura Bhāva* unlike other poets of his group is not clear. *Madhura Bhāva* or the worship of Kṛṣṇa as a lover came to Viṭṭhalanāthajī from his great friend Rūpa Goswāmī, who used to stay with Viṭṭhalanāthajī very often and who had got it from Caitanya Mahāprabhu.

In a study of Śrī Vaiṣṇava settlements of Pre-Rāmāyaṇa era in Karnatak, S. Settar points out that the Chola kings were not contended with merely serving Vaiṣṇavism, but were fully committed to the promotion of the interest of Tamil emigres as well as of their language and culture. Śrī Vaiṣṇavism became privileged economically, linguistically and socially. Of a total number of sixtyseven records so far brought to light from Tondanur, fortyone are in Tamil and twenty seven are in Kannada. All may not agree that the divinity of kings led to Viṣṇu as a Cakravartin.

Prabhakar Apte writes well about Diagram worship. The Mahānubhāvas, who followed Cakradhara, gave a new turn to it. It is very important to note that from the architectural point of view one may evaluate these diagrams as potential ground plans of twenty five patterns of temple structure. The words *Pīṭha*, *Vitha*, *Dvāra*, *Śobhā*, *Mpsobha*, *Koṇa* are all common terms in Architecture. Square is literally the fundamental form of Indian architecture. The article on the excavated remains from Vidisha (M.P.) shows the tremendous impact of Vaiṣṇavism on the Madhyadeśa. Vidiśa is one of the thousand names of Viṣṇu.

Coming to the effect of Viṣṇu worship on Architecture, R. N. Mehta tells us that Havelis replaced temples because they are the residential houses of Guru and God. A. V. Jeychandran, writing on the *Prākāra*s of Viṣṇu Temples, tells us that in South India a sacred spot should have a *mūrti* (godhead), water-source (*tīrtha*) and a *Vṛkṣa* (a tree) Historically the *Prākāra*s came into existence after the Pallavas in the South. R. N. Misra's article on the Sas-Bahu Temple in Gwalior is very enlightening. Padmanābha, to whom the temple is raised is none other than Aniruddha. Aniruddha is mentioned six times in the Sas Bahu Temple inscription. It is *not Sahasrabāhu* as some learned men think but Sas-Bahu, only because Lakṣmi and Aniruddha's wife Uṣā, both find a place there and Uṣā is Lakṣmi's *bahu*.

V. S. Pramar tells us in ' Haveli Temples of Gujarat ' that Guru's room is on the first floor and the deity is located on the ground floor because the elders are always on the ground floor. Courtyards were status symbols and the Haveli temple sought faithfully to follow this ancient tradition wherever space permitted.

M. C. Joshi tells us that in *Skanda-Purāṇa* ordinary four-handed representation of Viṣṇu is equvalent to the Vyūhas.

The Vīra and the Vyūha concepts as indicated in the *Mahābhārata* went into combinations and the representation of the Caturvimaśatimūrtis as a group were noticed by R. N. Mehta and reported by Kalpana Desai in the temple of Valam at Gujarat. Chennakeśavasvāmī temple at Belur and the ceiling of the *navaraṅga* of the Keśava temple at Somanatha (Mysore) are often examples. Even in Bombay we have a cloth painting in the Prince of Wales Museum representing twenty-four Viṣṇus.

N. P. Joshi has given glimpses of Iconographical data in the Smṛtis with special reference to Viṣṇu. Vṛddha Hārita reveals that Bāla-Kṛṣṇa and Gopāla-Veṣa-Kṛṣṇa are worthy of being worshipped by Śūdras. Vṛddha Hārita divides 24 forms of Viṣṇu into groups—Keśavādi mūrti and Saṅkarṣaṇādi mūrti. Viṣṇu in the solar disc (*arkamaṇḍala*) may remind some readers of Kṛṣṇa into the womb of Uttarā to save Parīkṣit. Vṛddha Hārita excludes Bhārgava Paraśurāma and the Buddha from worship. In comparison with other Smṛtis, that of Vṛddha Hārita and Vasiṣṭha give us copious information about Vaiṣṇava iconography.

It may be placed round about 900 A.D. The use of anklets, pearl pendant in the nose and the motif of *padma-yugma* are other characteristics of this iconography in the Smṛti of Vṛddha Hārita.

In 'Vaikuṇṭha as Daityāri at Khajuraho', Devangana Desai has made a point which really requires an essay. The Vedic religion could fight the non-Vedic heretic sects like Kāpālikas, Kṣapaṇakas and others with the help of Viṣṇu-Bhakti-cult. She has made another very important point. The three demons in conjoint form could be killed by conjoint forms only. To kill an enemy one has to become like the enemy. To kill Hayagrīva, Viṣṇu becomes like Hayagrīva himself. In one scene at Khajuraho no less a person than Balarāma slays Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa. This is the annihilator of priesthood through divine power.

K. K. A. Venkatachari has shown how *Sudarśana Cakra* has acquired a personality of its own in Art. It would be interesting to see how such a process takes place in Semitic religions, for example, the Cross.

Deepak C. Bhatacharya shows very convincingly that Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are not what popular imagination has made them. Saraswatī can give riches (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*), Sarasvatī is shown as giving riches and in *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Lakṣmī is shown as the Goddess of Learning. In *Skandapurāṇa* quite frequently Lakṣmī is shown playing on the *Vīṇā*.

V. H. Bedekar has shown the Churning of the Ocean as revealing different aspects of treatment in the famous relief at the temple of Angkor-Vat or on the jewellery box in the National Museum, a fine etching on a '*lota*' at the Sardar Patel University at Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat, as well as in Madhubani painting. He has compared individual methods with schematic methods with the help of diagrams, and revealed the combination of conceptual forms with the naturalistic features. In the figures reproduced we have Akbari stylization as well as Mughal style.

From the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period to A.D. 1200, Madhyapradesh and the Vindhya region of U.P. came under profound Vaiṣṇava influence. The stone image from Malhar (Dist. Bilaspur, U.P.), is the most remarkable early representation of Vāsudeva—Viṣṇu. It is wrong to think that the cult-images of Kṛṣṇa are lacking in early Indian Art. K. D. Bajpai has very ably shown that the so-called early images of Viṣṇu, found in different parts of the country, represent essentially the Vāsudeva form of the deity. The well-known Besnagar pillar inscription shows that a temple of the deity existed in Vidisha in the second Century B.C. An interesting Brāhmī inscription recently discovered near Tunda in the Shivpuri District indicates that the Bhāgavata cult was well spread over the north western part of the present Madhyapradesh during the 1st Century B.C. The other important art centers in Central India were Deogarh, Pavaya, and Nachna. The indigeneous elements of Chambal and Betva valleys endowed the Indian Classical Art with a sense of electricity and grace.

R. C. Agravala in 'Early Vaiṣṇava Icons from Rajasthan' shows that the well-known inscriptions of Ghosundi or Nagarı of second-first century B.C. show what was lost and was valuable. Similarly the famous early Gupta or late Kushana terracotta panels from Rangmahal are a landmark in the early Brahmanic iconography. (The Gopi in *Dāna līlā* is seen in Roman dress).

Vaiṣṇavism in the Vākāṭaka times is discussed by Jamkhedkar—" If it was Bharasiva princess who brought in Śaiva cult among the Vākāṭakas, it was a Gupta princess—Prabhāvatī Gupta—who introduced Bhagavatism in the line ". She was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta over-lord Chandragupta (II).

We have excellent narrative excavations from Paunar, Mandhal and Ramtek hill and Nagra. Between 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D. Vaiṣṇava Art was at its height at Ramtek.

In Andhrapradesh, M. L. Nigam tells us, Viṣṇu from Yellesvaran is two-armed and in some ways comparable with the Viṣṇu image from the vicinity of Malhura. Central Indian Art influenced the Viṣṇukuṇḍin art of Deccan. Images of Viṣṇu are found in Cuddapah as well as Guntur Dist. of Andhra Pradesh. The era of Viṣṇukuṇḍin witnessed an unprecedent growth in the popularity of Viṣṇu in the Andhra Region.

Ratan Parimoo, the editor of the book, has written a short but compact chapter on the 'Sculptures of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu' in which he has explained Viśvarūpa on the basis of Viṣṇu being pantheistic in concept. The orb of light shown in *Prabhāvali* has either eight Rudras, eleven Rudras, twelve Rudras, and there are also twelve Ādityas. Viśvarūpa is presented from a new angle and in all its variation. The Viśvarūpa should be taken independently. It does not show the Vaikuṇṭha heads namely the boar and the lion. The Gujarat type is always seated comfortably. The Gujarat Viśvarūpa has three tiers of human faces. It shares its features with the Nepalese Viśvarūpa and these are magnificent works of art.

J. L. Bhan shows the importance of a circle of flames (*Prabhāvali*) behind the full body of the image at Devsar, Kashmir. At the lower edges of *Prabhāvali*, Nāgas, the favourite deities of Kashmir are also seen. Besides other images we have a bronze Hayagrīva image of Viṣṇu. Almost like Śiva he is holding Sun and Moon in his hands. The *Prabhāvali* shows Viṣṇu killing Madhu and Kaiṭabha. The most familiar Vaiṣṇava image from Kashmir is that of Caturānana Viṣṇu. It became the chief deity of Kashmir by the 8th century A.D. The Vaikuṇṭha image in Khajuraho bears an inscription to help us to see that it is Kashmiri type of image. The figure No. 13 appearing at the apex of our

Prabhāvalī is Hari-Har-Pitāmaha in which there is an effort to synthesize Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Krishna Deva tells us about the moustached Kṛṣṇa from the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho and in Govardhana scene in the Raṅgmahāla terracottas. He raises the question—' Are there Regional Variations in the Plastic Representations of *Kṛṣṇalīlā* ?

There are other useful articles on the aesthetics of Vaiṣṇava Art. Amit Ambalal writes on ' Imagery in the Nathadwara School of Painting '. Shridhar Andhare writes on ' A Dated Bhāgvata Purāṇa Manuscript from Pune '.

G. Vijayavenugopal has done spadework in writing about the *Ramāyaṇa* Paintings of Alakar Koyil, which is one of the important Vaiṣṇava temples in the Pandya country which is situated in the foothill of Alakar malai or Tirumalirun colaimalai which is 12 miles north of Madurai city. He describes not only the narrative and structural characteristics but shows their indebtedness to Nāyaka paintings of *Rāmāyaṇa* (kept in Sarasvatī Mahal library, Thanjavur).

The last section is on ' Manifestations in Dance and Music '. Ranganayaki Ayyangar is quite uninvolved and detached in his ' Alvars and Music '. Sunil Kothari has written on the ' Impact of Vaiṣṇavism on the Indian Art with particular reference to the Classical Indian Dance and Dang Drama Traditions '. How one wishes to know something about Kṛṣṇa's place in the folk-dances of Kathiawar and Gujarat but the book is already too big to handle.

A new kind of analysis is presented by two young scholar-dancers in an analysis and interpretation of the dance-drama ' Bhūmijā '. Rai Anand Krishna's very interesting article, ' Depiction of Kṛṣṇa in Classical Indian Music,' makes one say like Oliver Twist—" Sir, I want more '. " His reference to Mansingh Tomar and the Tomar court of Gwalior reminds one of how neglected the role of Gwaliari dialect is in the literary movements about Kṛṣṇa and the dhrupad movement traditionally owing its origin to Man Singh Tomar (1486-1516). Hariharnivas Dwivedi of Gwalior is perhaps the only scholar I know so far who has explored this area of ' Gwaliari ' dialect.

The book is excellent for reference and is almost an atlas of art-history of Vaiṣṇava art. I hope Ratan Parimoo would bring out another volume to cover Bengali Literature and the folk-art and folk-songs.

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God Revealed : Written and pubd. by Shri Purushottam J. Parikh, 10, Sujata Society, Gotri Road, Baroda-390 015, Pp. xii + 66. Price : Not Printed.

The book under review, *God-Revealed* by Sri Purushottam J. Parikh is a small but valuable treatise on the philosophical principles considered to be the highest truth in Indian Philosophy. In this small work, the author has discussed the principal texts of the philosophy and very lucidly thrown a flood of light on the path of realisation of God or *Paramātman* or in other words Self-Realisation.

The First chapter entitled–' Play of Divine Energy ' discusses the origin of the Universe in the Upaniṣadic and Sāṅkhya terminology, and then the author has discussed the importance of mind as the link for the association with the supreme power who produces the Universe, maintains it and finally absorbs it into its origin.

In the second chapter viz. ' Supreme Power ' it is stated that the cosmic and the individual emanated from the embryo of the transcendental energy. Then the position of man's being extrovert is discussed to emphasize the importance of being introvert, as none can proceed on the path of self-realisation without being introvert.

Then in the third chapter the process of creation, maintainance and destruction of the Universe is taken up for discussion. The energy rushing out of the *Parama Śakti* is termed as *Māyā* by the *Yogis*. It is *Triguṇātmikā* consisting of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. Then how *Satya Loka*, *Tapoloka*, and different layers of creation and the *Hiraṇya Garbha* came into being is described, and it is also explained how the desire to be into many gave rise to the Male and Female energies.

Thus, as the auther explains creation is a process of evolution. By reversing the process the realisation of Pure Supreme self is experienced : This is self-existent God, i.e. *Sat-Cit-Ānanda.*

In the fourth and fifth chapters the *Yoga* is described. The chapter on *Rāja Yoga* is very important wherein the traditional *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga* and the *Cakras* of the physical body as propounded by the sage Patañjali are explained very lucidly which can enable a person to undertake this spiritual process of *Yoga*, of course, under proper guidance.

The Sixth and Seventh chapters deal with the spiritual significance of *Om* and *Gāyatrī* in which the significance is quite vividly brought out of these two. In the sixth chapter, the five *Kośas* of the body as described in the Upaniṣads are also explained vividly.

In the seventh chapter a special discussion is devoted to the sacred *Mantra* of *Gāyatrī*. Its meaning is explained and together with it *āpaḥ*, *Jyoti-Raso*, *Amṛtam*, *Bhūḥ*, *Bhuvaḥ* and *Svaḥ* are explained, bringing out their full singnificance.

The eight chapter discusses the *Mokṣa*. Here it is stated that once the realisation of supreme self (*Parā-Śakti*) is experienced, the endless cycles of births and deaths discontinue forth with. This is the liberation i.e. *Mokṣa*.

The ninth chapter discusses *Paramātmā* and *Jivātmā*. It is stated that *Paramātmā* became or transformed himself into many *Jīvatmās*. This is explained by the illustration of *Bimba* and *Pratibimb*', so the plurality of the *Jīvatmās* is transitory and false, in reality there is *Paramātmā* alone and the *Jīvatmās* are the reflections only.

The tenth chapter discusses the revelation of truth as experienced by the celebrated sage of modern times, Ramaṇa Maharṣi. The whole process is given as the sermon by him.

The elevanth, twelth, and thirteenth chapters discuss *Sat*, *Cit*, and *Ānanda* respectively, and the fourteenth chapter which is the final one, discusses all of them together i.e. *Sat-Cit-Ānanda*.

Thus, in these fourteen chapters the author has discussed all the matters regarding the self-realization. But this is not a matter of mere study, it requires conscious and patient effort i.e. *sādhanā* done on proper lines with proper method. The attempt of the author as he puts it in writing is, " To reveal the Truth to kindle the light of Self-Realisation for the noble cause of uplifting mankind, I write this book. I feel, in doing so I perform the God-entrusted duty ".

Even a casual reading of the book shows how apt is author's remark and the author really deserves congratulations for bringing out a book in such lucid manner and intelligible form on such a mystic and difficult subject.

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M. M. PATHAK

OBITUARY

Professor Charu Deva Shastri

Birth : 8th May, 1896 Death : 9th April, 1987

A rare combination of a great Sanskrit scholar, a gifted writer, a fluent speaker, a reputed philanthropist and an eminent educationist Prof. Charu Deva Shastri stood out among his contemporaries as one of the most remarkable personalities. His phenominal grasp of Sanskrit grammar, especially of the Pāṇinian school, earned him the coveted title, *Abhinava-Pāṇini* from his numerous friends and admirers. His chaste Sanskrit and his grasp of the Sanskrit idiom won him the admiration of scholars, Indian and foreign. Ever engaged in the quest of knowledge, the main pursuit of his life, he kept to 8 to 9 hour-a-day schedule even at the age of 90 when he was all too worn out by age. Frail in body he had an indefatigable mind. His regularity of habits, his penchant for hard work and minute detail, his keen desire to pick up knowledge of anything that he did not know already, was a matter of surprise and envy for many. His publications include 21 books, 18 articles and two series of five volumes each, first, the *Vyākaraṇ-candrodaya* of 2332 pages and the other, the *Upasargārthacandrikā* of 1200 pages in print.

Prof. Shastri had many firsts to his credit. He was the first to bring to light the *Vākyapadīya* (*Kāṇḍa* I complete and *Kāṇḍa* II in part), a grammatico-philosophical work. He was the first biographer in Sanskrit of Mahatma Gandhi. His prose work *Śrīgāndhi-caritam* is still unsurpassed in sweetness of diction and the genius of Sanskrit. He was the first to draw the attention of scholars to Sanskrit idiom through his *Vāgvyavahārādarśaḥ*, first published in 1976 to which he added two supplements subsequently, one in 1978 and the other in 1982.

Prof. Shastri's other noteworthy publications include the *Śrīmadbhāgavatabhāṣāpariccedaḥ*, linguistic appraisal of the voluminous *Śrīmadbhāgavatapurāṇa*, the *Mahābhāratavacanāmṛtam*, an anthology of one thousand didactic stanzas from the *Mahābhārata* along with their gloss in Hindi, the *Rāmacaritāmṛtam*, a collection of stanzas from the *Rāmāyaṇa* bearing on the character of Śrī Rāma as also detailed Sanskrit introductions to some of the Purāṇas, the *Padma*, the *Nāradīya* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

Prof. Charu Deva Shastri was born to Shri Ram Krishna and Shrimati Bhagawanti Devi on May 8, 1896 at Ahiyapur, a village in the Dasuya Tehsil of the District of Hoshiarpur, Punjab. He received his early education at the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in the nearby village Tanda.

After passing the Middle School examination from the school, Prof. Shastri came to Jullundur and joined the S.D.A.S. High School there. After his schooling he joined the D.A.V. College, Lahore and got the Master of Arts degree in Sanskrit with a First Class First, for which distinctlon he was awarded Gold Medals. Earlier he had been awarded Scholarships for obtaining distinction in Sanskrit in Intermediate and B.A.

Prof. Shastri entered service in 1921 in the D.A.V. College, Jullundur even before his M.A. result was out. Later, after a couple of months (by that time his result was out) he joined the D.A.V. College, Lahore which he continued to serve till the partition of the country in 1947. He resumed work in the same College when it was restarted in 1948 in Ambala City (Haryana). He retired from service in 1951 at the age of 55. Later on, for two years he served the newly-started Gandhi Memorial National College at Ambala Cantt. and for a year the Punjab University Camp College at New Delhi.

Prof. Shastri was a great Philanthropist. He was out to help anybody in distress. He created two Endowments of Rs. 10000/- each with the Punjab and Delhi Universities for stipends for the best pass girl students in B.A. going in for M.A. Sanskrit and Sanskrit publications respectively.

Lack of proper facilities for school education at his native place, which had impelled him to go to the Divisional town of Jullundur for High School education prompted him to open a D.A.V. Middle School there in 1925. The school was raised to the High School level in 1944. For little children he started the Dayanand Model School, renamed later as M.C. Jolly D.A.V. Model School and for girls a D.A.V. High School for Girls.

Not only money, Prof. Shastri would lend his honorary services also for the cause of education. He served the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur for some time honorarily.

Apart from Sanskrit, Prof. Shastri knew Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati and Marathi among the Indian languages and German, Russian, French and Persian among the foreign. Most of these languages he picked up after retirement. He passed the B.A. German examination of the Punjab University at the age of 57.

Prof. Shastri was deeply interested in classical Indian music which he learnt systematically in his earlier years.

Prof. Shastri won national recognition by his valuable contribution to Sanskrit. He was awarded the title of vidyavachaspati at the Golden Jubilee Session of the All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan in 1965 by Dr. Radhakrishnan the then President of India. In 1971 Shri V. V. Giri, the President of India at that time, awarded him a Certificate of Honour. In 1973 a Felicitation volume in two parts with a total of about a thousand pages was published on the occasion of his 75th birth day. It was presented to him formally at an impressive ceremony at his native place on January 11, 1974 by Shri Gurdayal Singh Dhillon, the then Speaker of the Lok Sabha. On October 26, 1981, the Banaras Hindu University conferred on him the D.Litt. degree Honoris Causa. The Uttar Pradesh Sanskrit Academy honoured him on December 31, 1981 for his contribution to Sanskrit with an award of Rs. 15,000/-. On March 27, 1983 the Language Department of the Government of Punjab conferred on him the title of Śiromaṇi Sanskrit Sāhityakār. It also presented him on the occasion with a Gold Medal and a sum of Rs. 5100/-.

On 9th April, 1987 this great savant passed away and with it came to an end an era of dedicated scholarship in the domain of Sanskrit studies.

ग्रन्थ

(मौलिक एवं सम्पादित)

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८ प्रस्तावतरङ्गिणी चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरिज आफिस, वाराणसी, १९५१, द्वितीय संस्करण, १९६३.

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Satya Vrat Shastri

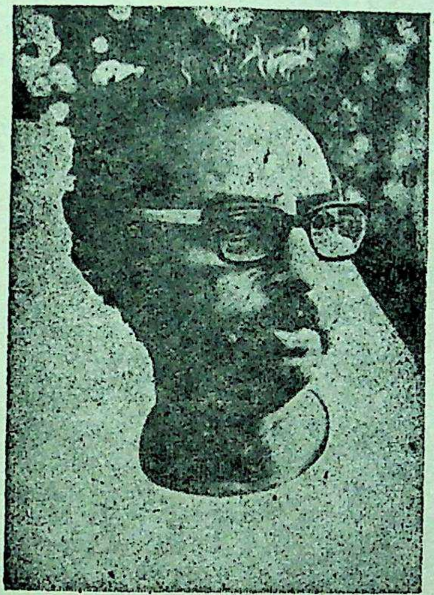
* * *

OBITUARY

Padmashri Vishnu Shridhar Wakankar

(4th May 1919—3rd April 1988)

Vishnu Shridhar Wakankar, alias Haribhau of Ujjayini was an academic institute in his own sphere of activity. He started his scholarly activity from the sphere of Painting, for which he organised Bharati Kala-Bhavan, and later on Rock Art Institute in Madhavnagar, Ujjain. Due to this activity he organised a number of exhibitions in India and abroad. This interest in painting and visual arts led him to the field of Archaeology. His over whelming enthusiasm for discovering the cultures of Malwa led him first to pick up methods of explorations and excavations during the field operations organised by the State Government, Deccan College P. G. Institute and the M. S. University of Baroda.



His turning to Archaeology helped to fulfil his academic urge and Vishnu Shridhar astutely followed the track, by investigating pre-historic and proto-historic cultures specially of Malwa. In this field his works at Manoti and Aura became internationally known. However, the discovery of Rock paintings in Malwa area, and those of Bhimbetka near Bhopal, and the subsequent works of Haribhau gave him enough apportunities of glory as well as extensive travels in Europe. These activities were instrumental in his receiving Padmashri Award of the Government of India in 1975. Here he had an excellent opportunity to study European rock-paintings and compare his material with the upper paleolithic art traditions of Europe. He could therefore trace the Indian tradition more clearly and bring it up to repute.

Besides these, his basic interest springing from his family background, was Indian culture and understanding its historical aspects He had therefore devoted much time and energy to reading of inscriptions, coins etc. and published them.

His interest in Vedic tradition led him to envisage and organise the Sarasvati Shodha Abhiyāna. He toured extensively in search of lost Sarasvati and had valuable contributions in this field.

Besides being an artist, art historian and archaeologist he was an organiser of a number of educational institutions in Ujjain. His efforts to organise Kālidāsa Samāroha as a member were praise-worthy.

Haribhau Wakankar was of independent nature and actively participated in organising RSS activities, Theosophical Society, Vidyarthi Parisad and other activities. They kept him fairly active. During these activities and travel, he will not forget to note the archaeological or Historical potentials of the sites visited by him.

An active man of medium height and body, Haribhau was of pleasing manners and disposition. In the later years he had developed diabetes, and an attack of paralysis. However, his activities continued unabated till his last breath.

Gujarat Vidyaphith,
Ahmedabad, 380 014

R. N. Mehta

OBITUARY

Professor Jayadev Shukla

Shri Jayadevbhai Shukla was born on September, 30th 1922. His father, Shri Mohanlal Shukla was a Scholar of Sanskrit, well-versed in the Śāstras. Inspired by the example of his father, Shri Jayadevbhai also took Sanskrit. After his M. A. in 1946, from the University of Bombay, he became a disciple of Professor K. V. Abhyankar, the son of the illustrious Pandit, Mahāmahopādhyāya Shri Vāsudev Shastri.

He submitted a disseration on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīyam* and earned his Ph.D. in 1954.

He began his long career in teaching the following year, in 1955, by joining L.D. Arts college in Ahmedabad. He joined the School of Languages, Gujarat University in 1969, as a Reader in Sanskrit.

All along, Sanskrit grammar remained his major field of study. His chief works are based on his researches in this field. He inspired his students also to undertake studies in Sanskrit grammar.

His chief works are : *Pāṇinīya Vyākaraṇaśāstrano Itihāsa* (A History of Pāṇinian Science of Grammar); A translation into English of the First three Ahnikas of *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*; A translation into Gujarati of all the three Kāṇḍās of *Vākyapadīyam,* and *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā.* In collaboration with Professor K. V. Abhyankar, he prepared and published *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar.*

He has also published works relating to other fields of study. Of these, *Prācīn Bhāratano Sānskritik Itihāsa* (A cultural History of Ancient India); *Subandhunī Vāsavadattā* (Subandhu's Vāsavadattā) and A translation into Gujarati of the Third Maṇḍala of Ṛgveda are noteworthy.

In addition to the full-length studies, he had also published many research papers. He retired in 1982 from the School of Languages but continued with his usual scholarly activities such as studies, research, guidance to scholars and publication. At the time of his death, he was busy with preparing a standard version of the *Śreṇikacarita* based on his discovery of the manuscript in the L.D. Institute of Indology. When he died on August, 31st, 1987, he was about to conclude his studies.

With the exit of Dr. Shukla, the teachers and students engaged in the studies and research in the field of Sanskrit-especially in the field of Sanskrit grammar-in Gujarat, have come to experience a great void. All along his life he strived for laying a solid foundation of studies in Sanskrit grammar in Gujarat. All those who knew him as a teacher, colleague or friend know how difficult was the task and how well he has succeeded. All future scholars of this discipline will for ever be indebted to the services of Professor Jayadev Mohanlal Shukla.

May God grant his soul eternal peace.

DR. VASANTKUMAR BHATT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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